





Gc  
974.801  
M74hi  
v.6  
1666473

M. L.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL  
GENEALOGY COLLECTION



ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02219 8599

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY

OF  
ALLEN COUNTY







HISTORICAL SKETCHES

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS PREPARED  
FOR THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

VOLUME VI

1920



NORRISTOWN PRESS

1929

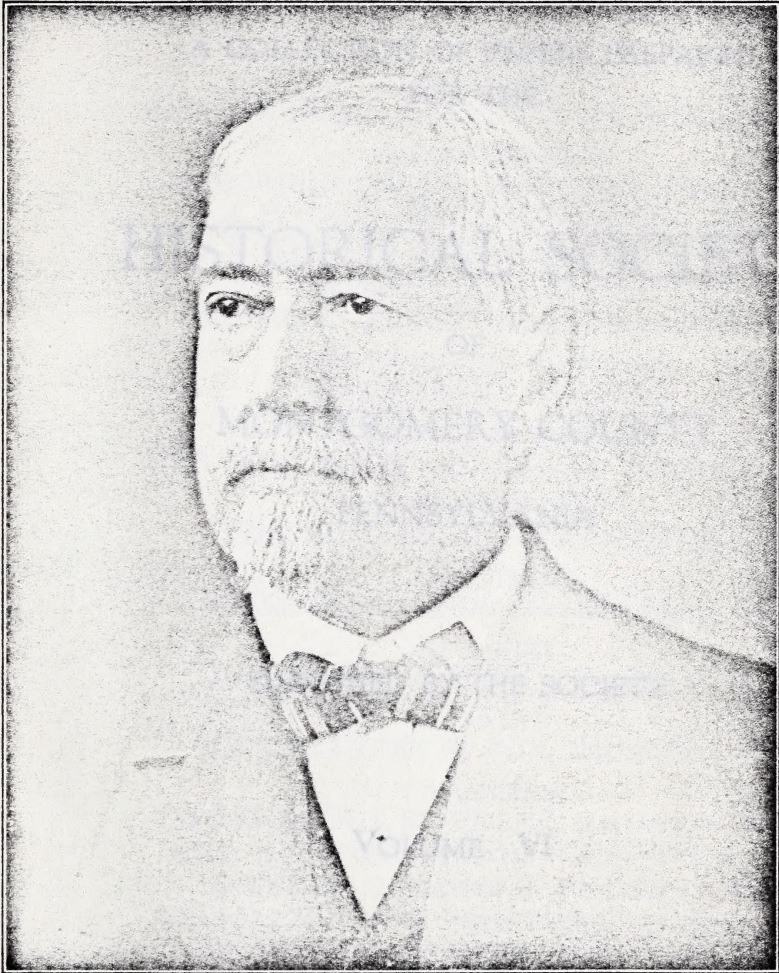






HISTORICAL SKETCHES

1666473



HON. HENRY W. KRATZ

NORRISTOWN PRESS

1929





# HISTORICAL SKETCHES

Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS PREPARED  
FOR THE

# HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

VOLUME VI

NORRISTOWN PRESS

1929

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2015



OFFICERS  
OF THE  
Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.

1920

---

PRESIDENT

REV. THOMAS R. BEEBER, D. D., Norristown, Pa.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

S. GORDON SMYTH, West Conshohocken, Pa.

J. P. HALE JENKINS, Norristown, Pa.

H. SEVERN REGAR, Norristown, Pa.

RECORDING SECRETARY

GEORGE K. BRECHT, Esq., Norristown, Pa.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MISS BERTHA S. HARRY

FINANCIAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM M. GEARHART, Norristown, Pa.

TREASURER

DR. W. H. REED, Jeffersonville, Pa.

LIBRARIAN

WILLIAM SUMMERS, Conshohocken, Pa.

ANNALIST

MISS CLARA A. BECK, Norristown, Pa.

CURATOR

MISS FRANCES M. FOX, Norristown, Pa.

TRUSTEES

FRANKLIN A. STICKLER, Norristown, Pa.

MRS. A. CONRAD JONES, Conshohocken, Pa.

HERBERT H. GANSER, Norristown, Pa.

MISS KATHARINE PRESTON, Norristown, Pa.

DR. HERMAN BURGIN, Germantown, Pa.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

WILLIAM SUMMERS, Conshohocken, Pa.

MISS ELIZABETH SUPPLEE, Norristown, Pa.

DR. HERMAN BURGIN, Germantown, Pa.

MISS CLARA A. BECK, Norristown, Pa.

MRS. WILLIAM M. GEARHART, Norristown, Pa.





# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY W. KRATZ, ESQ.....	1
THE TRUE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, Henry Leffman .....	5
VALLEY FORGE, a Poem. Ruth Wanger .....	21
THE SIEGE OF PHILADELPHIA. Fred Perry Powers.....	22
REVOLUTIONARY HEROES BURIED IN ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY. Clara A. Beck .....	39
PENNSYLVANIA'S RELATIONSHIP TO WASHINGTON. J. P. Hale Jenkins, Esq. ....	47
PENNYPACKER'S MILL. Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.....	53
CHARLES FRANKLIN RAND, M. D. John C. MacNellis.....	56
A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE—GETTYSBURG, JULY 1 TO 4, 1863. Edmund Wells .....	63
MRS. ANNIE WITTENMYER. By her son .....	69
REPORT OF PRESENTATION OF THE BATTLE FLAG OF THE 51ST REGIMENT, PENNA. VOLUNTEERS. B. Percy Chain, Esq... ..	71
HISTORICAL OUTING TO GERMANTOWN. Edwin C. Jellett.....	76
MONTGOMERY COUNTY AT GETTYSBURG. Rev. Henry Martyn Kieffer .....	80
EDMUND CHARLES CLINTON GENET, AVIATOR. Clara A. Beck. .	85
FORT WASHINGTON AND THE ENCAMPMENT AT WHITEMARSH. Richard M. Cadwallader .....	92
AN OVERLAND TRIP TO THE GREAT WEST IN 1834. Dr. W. H. Reed .....	121
WHITPAIN TOWNSHIP "POTPOURRI." Clara A. Beck.....	137
JEMIMA WILKINSON, "THE UNIVERSAL FRIEND." Howard W. Kriebel .....	156
ROBERT ROBINSON SCOTT—BOTANIST, WRITER, PATRIOT. Edwin C. Jellett .....	169
SALLY WISTER. Edward W. Hocker .....	182
A POEM. Winfield Scott Hancock .....	185
THE BUILDING OF FONTHILL IN 1908-9-10 AT DOYLESTOWN, PA. Henry C. Mercer, Esq. ....	186
MUSEUM BUILDING AND ITS VALUE TO A COMMUNITY. H. Severn Regar .....	196
REPORT OF THE ANNALIST FOR 1919. Clara A. Beck.....	203
RECORD OF A HIKE ON THE BETHLEHEM PIKE. Edward B. Phillips .....	214
"E. M."—AN INTENSIVE HISTORIAN. Edward W. Hocker....	235
A PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN WOMAN. J. O. K. Roberts.....	243
THE ATTACK ON ANDREW KNOX. Major Wm. H. Bean.....	246
THE STORY OF THE JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Dr. W. H. Reed .....	249
THE LOTTERY AS A RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION. Edward W. Hocker .....	280
THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1794. J. P. Hale Jenkins, Esq. ....	286
INCLINED PLANES. Edwin F. Smith, C. E.....	293
RAFINESQUE—THE ERRANT NATURALIST. S. Gordon Smyth..	300
THE SHANNON FAMILY. Anna R. Shannon.....	343
EARLY PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NORRISTOWN, PENNA. William Summers .....	351





OAKLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE. Cora Ralston Evans.....	355
TREEMOUNT SEMINARY AND ITS PREDECESSORS.	
S. Gordon Smyth .....	365
COUNTRY SINGING SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS.	
Sylvester H. Orr .....	390
THE MORTUARY CHAPEL AT ST. JAMES' CHURCH.	
Rev. Charles F. Scofield, Addenda to Vol. V.....	398
ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, CENTRE SQUARE.	
Clara A. Beck, Addenda to Vol. V .....	400
MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY	
COUNTY, December, 1920 .....	402
LIST OF ACTIVE MEMBERS, December, 1920 .....	404
GENERAL INDEX .....	413





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

HON. HENRY W. KRATZ .....	Frontispiece
ROOM IN WHICH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS SIGNED. ....	5
FRED PERRY POWERS .....	22
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA.....	47
PENNYPACKER'S MILL .....	53
CHARLES FRANKLIN RAND, M. D. ....	56
REV. EDMUND WELLS .....	63
PRESENTATION OF BATTLE FLAG OF THE 51ST REGIMENT, PA. VOLs., SEPTEMBER 17, 1917, IN PUBLIC SQUARE, NORRIS- TOWN, PA. ....	71
THE WISTER HOUSE, GERMANTOWN, PENNA. ....	76
REV. HENRY MARTYN KIEFFER, D. D.....	80
EDMUND CHARLES CLINTON GENET, THE AVIATOR .....	85
DAVID JARRETT, JEFFERSONVILLE, PENNA. ....	121
OLD BLACKSMITH SHOP, CENTRE SQUARE, PENNA., NOW DE- MOLISHED .....	144
OLD TANNERY, CENTRE SQUARE, PENNA., NOW I. O. O. F. BUILDING .....	146
JEMIMA WILKINSON, "THE UNIVERSAL FRIEND".....	162
ROBERT ROBINSON SCOTT, BOTANIST .....	169
SALLY WISTER, A SILHOUTTE .....	182
FONTHILL, DOYLESTOWN, PENNA. ....	186
THE REGAR MUSEUM, NORRISTOWN, PENNA.....	196
MISS CLARA A. BECK .....	203
EDWARD MATHEWS .....	235
ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH .....	249
REV. CHARLES F. DIVER, PASTOR OF THE NORRITON AND PROVI- DENCE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH .....	260
REV. N. S. ALLER, PASTOR OF THE NORRITON AND PROVIDENCE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, JEFFERSONVILLE, PENNA. ....	261
REV. A. J. SNYDER, PASTOR OF THE "JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBY- TERIAN CHURCH" .....	263
REV. CHARLES C. COLLINS, PASTOR OF THE "JEFFERSONVILLE (and later) CENTENNIAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF JEF- FERSONVILLE, PENNA." .....	270
SECOND BUILDING—KNOWN AS THE "CENTENNIAL PRESBY- TERIAN CHURCH" .....	272
JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH .....	276
PARSONAGE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, JEFFERSONVILLE, PENNA. ....	278
PERKIOMEN BRIDGE WAS BUILT BY LOTTERY .....	285
J. P. HALE JENKINS, ESQ. ....	286
PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS IN 1934 .....	293
EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE OHIO RIVER .....	308
GEORGE SHANNON .....	343
WILLIAM SUMMERS .....	350
OAKLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE .....	355
REV. JAMES GRIER RALSTON, OAKLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE....	360
TREEMOUNT SEMINARY .....	365
REV. SAMUEL AARONS .....	365
JOHN W. LOCH, PH. D. ....	365
TREEMOUNT SEMINARY ASSOCIATION BANQUET, OCTOBER 22, 1913 .....	382
SYLVESTER H. ORR .....	390





## INTRODUCTORY

Since the issue of Vol. V of this series the World War, then raging in Europe, is now ended by the famous Armistice of 11th November, 1918, but it did not close without our participation in it; the tremendous possibilities menacing our future independence made it imperative for us to call into service millions of our youth—some of whom formed the great American Expeditionary Force in France, and very soon after they had gotten into active service on the “firing line” the termination of the war followed.

There were very few of our homes among this membership that did not contribute physically to this end; many households suffered—through the mental and bodily incapacity of their sons, at least the suspense and anxiety incidental to the possibility of the supreme sacrifice, if not that absolute martyrdom; and there were those who aided financially and otherwise, who rose to the heights of patriotism in the cause—yet all witnessed the successful demonstration of the principles of Liberty, Democracy and Justice, and thereafter the development and progress, due to its lessons—of new agencies in the paths of peace and material prosperity.

That war has passed into History. It is said to have been the most ruthless, sanguine, devastating and all-embracing (in the nations involved) of any war that has ever been recorded in the annals of the Christian Era.

This society has functioned throughout it all. The only interruption to the regularity of its mission was when it abandoned the “outing” set for the year 1918, and this was not due to war, but in its brief and frightful sweep over this country—even more tragic than war; it was the epidemic of influenza that took a toll



mightier than war; so that in the period just closing the apparition of "The Four Horsemen," by Ibanaz, was not without meaning to us; the wonderful recuperative powers of this people, however, soon dissipated the phantom.

Before reviewing, briefly, the progress of this society within the period now closing, it is worth while to re-state some of the hopes idealized by one of our former presidents—Hon. Henry W. Kratz, who, when assuming the chair, 28th April, 1916, among other wise expressions, said this—

"The incorporators of the Historical Society of Montgomery County knew that this county abounded in valuable historical events and incidents; \* \* \* that its people have taken high rank for intelligence, and would hail with gladness the opportunity of acquiring such knowledge of this county as the local historian could furnish; \* \* \* No one can fully understand, or realize the hope contained in the future without knowing something of the past. And the great events and incidents of the past can only be brought to the knowledge of those now living \* \* \* by the search-light of investigation in the hands of the local historian, \* \* \* Such men and women may well be regarded as benefactors. \* \* \* It becomes our duty to utilize and assimilate their benefactions, and every such man or woman leaves a record that is worthy of imitation. \* \* \* *We must not remain satisfied with what has been accomplished \* \* \* but move forward with greater diligence. \* \* \* And, if possible, accomplish still greater results.*"

Then, as a commentary to the foregoing, it is relevant at this point to direct attention to some observations recently made by the editor of The New York Times, and appearing in an issue of that newspaper—who was discussing the functions of a public library, and which we may take to ourselves. In this editorial he pleaded for the acquisition of original papers, letters, manuscripts, and accounts that are accumulated by men in public life, who, when they die, and their





relatives realizing that a library has ample facilities for the care and administration of material of value, place them in the custody of such libraries and by this example may induce others to do so and through such action they will be preserved, protected and made available to students under such conditions as the donors may prescribe.

The above suggestions should appeal to our people; to those in country communities who have diaries, documents and the like, that they may—instead of storing them away in an attic or some such sequestered spot, or consign them to a bon-fire when property changes hands—would turn them over to our society where they might be of inestimable value to future historical students. An incident in this connection can be cited that may be familiar to some of us, that was due to the foresight of the late Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, who, upon learning that some tons of just such material was being sent to a paper mill, waylaid the consignment and salvaged the entire mass, and he found that it contained a great quantity of very valuable records that had been discarded by an old commercial house that had liquidated and gone out of business. “A word to the wise is sufficient.”

The “Papers” presented and read before this society range through a wide variety of subjects; they are significant of the broader conception which are outlined in the preceding paragraphs; there has been more scholarly preparation of them and approximate, to some extent—the high standards we have set for ourselves; upon the whole they are valuable, and represent the zeal of some of our members who have made original research and have given us the benefit of their deep interest in the things that concern us. These papers cover the biography of persons, and the history of events made memorable within the county. There is something that relates to the several wars which this country has had; pioneer life in the West; political incidents; churches and religious subjects; early schools, academies and seminaries; engineering, botany





and other sciences; family records, genealogy and reminiscences, &c. A notable collection.

Among the activities of this organization during the past five years we have created the office of Annalist, whose duty it is to check up on current events and thus keep in touch with county affairs which will be history in the future. We have had discussions, lectures and exhibitions, and among the latter—representations of the home life and customs of the early settler; we have seen examples of their textile, plastic, cooking and other arts of the household, and the industries they fostered—thus we have sampled their pastry, and drank of their “Cyder,” and what not. We have seen the firearms and accoutrements of the Indian, the hunter and the hardy pioneer, and listened to the story of his penetration of the wilderness to the uttermost parts of this vast country.

Perhaps the most popular, and certainly the most pleasant, interesting and well-attended features of this society are the “outings” given each Fall. They are a sort of annual reunion which gather the congenial and kindred spirits in unconventional tours to some notable locality within the county or beyond its borders. It is thus we have met with ever increasing numbers, and with undiminished pleasure—at Fort Washington, in 1916, as the guests of Mr. Richard M. Cadwalader; in 1917, it was at Germantown to commemorate its early settlement; in 1918, we were to have visited Doylestown, in Bucks county, but the prevalence of the “flu” caused an abandonment until the following year, 1919, when we motored to Doylestown and inspected the Historical Museum and “Font-hill”—the home of Henry C. Mercer, Esq., the president of the Bucks County Historical Society. Last year, 1920, we made a wide circuit which brought us to the battlefield at Brandywine, and its environs, in the county of Chester; and happily—we recall them all and joyously anticipate those of the future.

Much more could be said of what has been done,



and what we still hope to accomplish, but we cannot escape the sins of omission—for it is to be regretted that thus far there is no tangible evidence of anything having been done to carry out the decision to mark the site of the residence of David Rittenhouse, on the Germantown pike, near Fairview; nor is there physical testimony that we could show that something has been done to further one of our cherished ambitions—that of constructing a memorial of Sullivan's bridge between Valley Forge and Fatland. Mention of these are simply reminders—"Lest we forget." If the aims of our organization mean anything then these matters should not longer be delayed.

There is one thing noted among the "Papers" submitted before this society that commends itself to the immediate attention of our body, and that is the earnest plea expressed, and hoped for consummation in creating a Community Museum. The reader's attention is directed to Mr. H. Severn Regar's paper under that title, and some recognition of this public-spirited citizen's high purpose and hopes should be manifested by those who are in a position to bring this proposition to fruition.

While this society has suffered serious losses, through death of several of its former members, as it inevitably will from time to time, nevertheless there has been a steady increase, both in membership and income, and this is cause for commendation. But in passing, we cannot forbear to bestow a tribute upon those who "sleep awhile, to rise again." They have left to us a legacy of useful service and of work well done; to the memory of those whose names follow, we render our loyal tribute:

Elizabeth M. Ambler	Samuel F. Jarrett
Mrs. W. M. Clift	Joseph C. Jones
Samuel H. Fridy	Hon. Henry W. Kratz
Abraham G. Grater	Edward Mathews
John J. Hughes	Gen. John W. Schall
Mrs. Clifton S. Hunsicker	Rush B. Smith





Dr. Milton Y. Weber  
Hon. John A. Wentz  
Rev. C. S. Wieand

Mrs. Annie Wilson  
Mrs. Alan Wood, Jr.

——— :: ———

IRVIN P. KNIPE, Norristown, Pa.  
DR. W. H. REED, Jeffersonville, Pa.  
S. GORDON SMYTH, West Conshohocken, Pa.  
WILLIAM M. GEARHART, Norristown, Pa.  
Committee on Publication.

Norristown, Pa., July 31, 1929.





## ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY W. KRATZ

When Assuming the Presidency  
of the  
Historical Society of Montgomery County,  
April 30, 1917.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Historical Society  
of Montgomery County, ladies and gentlemen:

I assume the presidency of the Historical Society of Montgomery County today, on the one hand, with great pleasure, because of the unanimity by which I was elected, after a decisive refusal by my honored predecessor to continue as its president, notwithstanding that the society was ready, willing and anxious to continue him as its presiding officer. On the other hand, I assume the duties of the chair and the responsibilities of the presidency with some diffidence, for fear that I may not be able to discharge the duties of the office, with the same degree of efficiency and success as did your former president. He received your aid and hearty co-operation in his long and useful service. There was unity of purpose, loyalty to the cause, and a lively interest exerted to create and maintain strength, zeal and growth throughout his administration. All these elements of success and progress, I trust, will be the helping agencies throughout the term of service which I shall be permitted to render you, as your president. I will endeavor to do the work of the chair, and perform all the duties that pertain to the office of president, to the best of my knowledge and ability. And in doing so, I invite, and hope to receive your hearty co-operation, united activity, genuine purpose and earnest zeal, which count greatly for success in all lines of human endeavor. The incorporators declared the purpose of this society to be the study and preservation of the history of Montgomery County.

This declaration has prompted study and research, which resulted in the preparation and preservation of much valuable local history.

The incorporators knew that this county abounded in valuable and interesting historical events and incidents, and believed that their declaration would be justified and confirmed by what would be produced along the lines of local history discoveries. They also knew that the people of Montgomery County have taken high rank for intelligence and would hail with gladness the opportunity of acquiring such knowledge of their county as the local historian could furnish. They further knew, that among the inhabitants were many that descended from ancestors who came to this country from Sweden, England, Wales, Germany, Holland and from other European countries in early colonial times. They still further knew that within its borders occurred some of the most important movements of the campaign of 1777 and 1778, the



turning point of the Revolutionary war. The different elements which entered into the population of the county, had much to do with its prominence in colonial and revolutionary events. Montgomery County is particularly the home of these diverse elements. The Swedish Lutherans, English and Welsh Friends, German Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Dunkards, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, were among the early settlers. The study of local history has revealed the influences which have operated and aided very materially in producing the comfortable and congenial home life, and the busy and prosperous community life as well, throughout Montgomery County.

This study of the historic storehouse of the past, well rewards the student of local history by furnishing desirable and valuable information. No one can fully understand the present, or realize the hope contained in the future, without knowing something of the past. And the events and incidents of the past can only be brought to the knowledge of those living in the present, by the searchlight of investigation in the hands of the local historian.

But it is also desirable and beneficial to give attention to the passing events and happenings of the present and to such subjects of art, science, education, business enterprises, as give historical importance to current local history. Such statistics and occurrences should be gathered, preserved and arranged for publication at the close of the year in which they take place. To neglect this opportunity and privilege, means the loss of the knowledge of important events in the progress and expansion of educational and business affairs which are constantly occurring in every community throughout the great county of Montgomery.

The inception of this society took place at a meeting held in the Court House at Norristown on the 25th day of February, 1881, pursuant to a call for such meeting numerously signed by many citizens of this community, and was attended by Colonel Theodore W. Bean, Dr. Hiram Corson, General William H. Bolton, Robert Iredell, Major William H. Holstein, Moses Auge, Samuel M. Corson, F. G. Hobson, R. F. Hoeffcker, Jones Detwiler and others. It was then and there determined to begin the formation and organization of the Historical Society of Montgomery County. Shortly thereafter a permanent organization was effected, which led to securing an act of incorporation, for which application was made to the Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County on May 10, 1883, by Colonel Theodore W. Bean, F. G. Hobson, Isaac Chism, Joseph K. Gotwals and A. D. Eisenhower. The application was approved by Judge B. M. Boyer, and the charter granted on May 25, 1883. The society then held meetings in the Court House and at the homes of its members, until the property which it now owns and occupies was acquired.

The founders and incorporators have passed away. Many of those who became active members and labored diligently, by gathering events and incidents throughout the county and presenting them in papers which were read before the society, and bound in the volumes of local history literature, which have been issued, and which serve as mementoes of historical research, and give valuable information, have also died. Much has been acquired during the 36 years of our existence by





those who have died, and by members who are still living, as our four volumes of local history productions attest. One of the original active members was Samuel M. Corson, who prepared and read the first paper before the society on the early settlement of the townships of Plymouth and Whitpain. He died soon thereafter. His paper was lost and therefore remained unpublished. The paper prepared and read before the society by William M. McDermott, on his esteem and regard for Colonel Theodore W. Bean and as one of the active founders of this society, then became the first paper published in the volume issued in 1895. Other papers that follow in our publications were prepared by Dr. Hiram Corson, Dr. George W. Holstein, Major W. H. Holstein, Hon. Hiram C. Hoover, William J. Buck, Hon. Jones Detwiler, F. G. Hobson, Esq., Mrs. Anna M. Holstein, Henry S. Dotterer, General William J. Bolton, Major William H. Bean, Edward Mathews and by others who were pioneers of this useful society and whose historical contributions should be read and studied, not only for information, but also for a stimulus to follow their example, by entering upon the work which they wrought with the same zeal and energy that characterized their efforts and achievements. They have left us refreshing memorials of their sincere devotion to the interests of this society, which contributed so much to its upbuilding and promotion. They gave historic value to many places in Montgomery County by their researches and historical productions; and we can justly and truthfully say with Washington Irving, 'That there is an inexpressible charm imparted to every place that has been celebrated by the historian, or immortalized by the poet.'

Such men and women may well be regarded as benefactors, and, though dead, their contributions to the society survive, to be read, admired and cherished. What they did for the benefit of this society, and did so well, deserves our sincere approval and appreciation. It becomes our duty to utilize and assimilate their benefactions, and remember the lessons of devotion to duty and labor, which they taught us and use them as guides to lead and direct us in our efforts and work to further the interests of our society. Every useful man or woman leaves a record that is worthy of imitation; and an examination of such a record would invariably furnish a noble example to study and apply to every one's life work. It has been said and truly said, that a good example is the best sermon.

Unfortunately we are too apt to forget the services of our friends, after their activities are brought to a close by death. We are also apt to bury the results of their labors with their bodies in the grave.

This is a grievous, and a too common error.

Let us not forget those who labored so well in the early life of this society, for its growth and success, and to give them an abiding place in our memories.

There would be but little encouragement for any one to strive to become a useful and honored laborer in any of the many spheres of life, if death were to thrust all that had been wrought and accomplished into oblivion. It should be not only a pleasure but a duty to appreciate the life work of every worthy man or woman.



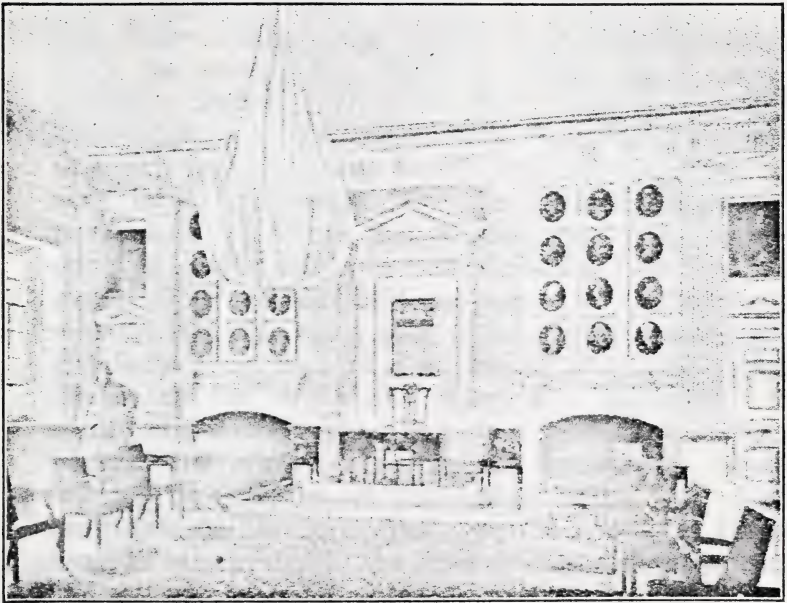


#### 4 HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY

And now having briefly reviewed the past history of this society, and but meagrely memorialized those members who have died, some thoughts and attention need to be given to the future. While we have cause to be grateful for the measure of success that has hitherto crowned our labors, we must not remain satisfied with what has been accomplished, but be stimulated by the achievements won in by-gone years; to move forward with greater diligence in the good work, and, if possible, accomplish still greater results.

Let us look over our historic field, and ascertain whether some new historical seed has not germinated and whether it has not grown and developed into fruitage that is ready to be gathered and preserved, and if so, proceed to secure it and add it to our archives, so that we may enjoy the product. We must be creative, constructive and contributive—if we desire to expand our historic store-house. Let us remember, that in our sphere of historical work we rise or sink as we aim high or low. It should be our pleasure as well as our duty to aim high in the effort to explore new material in the Montgomery County field of local history of the past, and record the suitable and desirable events and incidents of current history as well, in order that we may serve the best interests of the society in every line of progress, and thereby be enabled to go forward from year to year, in continuous prosperity."





ROOM IN WHICH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS SIGNED





## THE TRUE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

By HENRY LEFFMANN

To Philadelphians the Declaration of Independence is one of the most vivid incidents of history. Tho no one now living had any part in the events of that most eventful summer of 1776, yet seeing, as we have seen from infancy, and many of us passing almost daily the sanctified building in which our country's founders pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors to the principles of the great document, nay, privileged to stand in the very room and see the very table upon which lay the formally engrossed parchment, the scenes then enacted seem to be part of our life. It is, however, unfortunately true that the stories that are told of these scenes in our ordinary school-books give but a poor picture of the events, and generally place them in a setting by which the human phases of the deeds and doers are concealed. To secure the correct view, not only must the contemporary literature—newspapers, broadsides, books, letters, proceedings of legislative bodies and town meetings—be carefully read, but the course of events must be interpreted in the light of past and subsequent history.

It is my purpose in this essay to present in outline the condition immediately precedent to the adoption of the Declaration, the manner of its adoption and the significance of some of its assertions, in fact, to reproduce in some measure the environment in which it was framed. I have long believed, and have more than once asserted before this Society and elsewhere, that the true story of our Revolution is more dramatic, more instructive, more conducive to good citizenship and patriotism than are the inventions of professional



story-tellers or the confused relations of grandparents who, in advanced life, talk of events which they did not see or of which they were only a small part.

Let us briefly consider the conditions of the colonies and their relations to the mother country at the time of the opening of the Revolution. At the beginning of the eventful decade the authority of Great Britain was established uninterruptedly along the Atlantic, from the most northern point capable of supporting a European civilization to the boundary of Florida, a jurisdiction that stretched from pine to palm, and beyond the great range that separates the Atlantic slope from the central valley. Dutch and Swedish competition had long been eliminated; France had ceded the territory now in the domain of Our Lady of the Snows; Spain had started on her downward course and was no more to figure potently in the councils of the great maritime nations.

The sea-coast that thus came into the control of English-speaking people is one of the finest in the world for the purpose of commerce. It now supports a population of over forty millions, and is still far from the limit of its capacity. It contains many harbors, some of them estuaries of large rivers navigable for many miles for the deepest draft vessels. The wide range of climate and the great variety of soil afford opportunity for all the important departments of agriculture; the mineral resources, especially iron and coal, constitute a firm basis for manufactures and commerce. At the date of which I am speaking, England had already obtained control of the sea, and was able to protect the commerce of the colonies by a strong navy, so necessary in those times when the French and Spanish marauders were abundant. We are nowadays hearing much of the pacific, non-resistant founders of Pennsylvania, who are held up to us as patient under suffering and injustice, but a study of contemporaneous condition will show that much of this pacifism was relative, not absolute. They were largely merchants and dealt much with imported goods. Joseph





Stansbury, for instance, who was a member of "meeting," advertised in the Philadelphia papers just before the Revolution that he had for sale "China, Glass and Liverpool Goods." He must have obtained his "Liverpool Goods" by sea-borne transit, and could not have done this without the protection of the "wooden walls of old England." The government of Great Britain was not entirely in the wrong, when it asserted that, inasmuch as the English fleet made the sea safe for colonial traffic, the colonies should bear a reasonable taxation for the expenses of such fleet.

Unfortunately the English ministry and the King lacked judgment and tact, and allowed economic interests of their own country to oppress those in the colonies. A large proportion of the colonists had reasons for disliking England. Many of them had left on account of religious persecution. Presbyterians had come to Massachusetts, Roman Catholics to Maryland, Friends to Pennsylvania. The colonies were not wholly lands of the free. Slavery existed in all of them; absolute freedom of thought in none. Tho Mrs. Hemans would have us believe of Plymouth Rock and those that landed on it nearly three hundred years ago, that

"They have left unstained what there they found,  
Freedom to worship God,"

the truth is otherwise. Doctrines different from those of the Pilgrims and Puritans, whether by excess or deficiency, were condemned and persecuted. Papist and Quaker, the power of the keys and the grace of the inner light, were alike heretical and damnable in their eyes, and they flogged, imprisoned and hanged the offenders without ruth. Nor was our own Pennsylvania, so lauded as the land of religious freedom, much different, at least, in exacting a rigid orthodoxy as a requirement for an active share in the public affairs. A certain indifference may have been shown to non-evangelicals, such as Unitarians and Jews, but as early as 1705, the holding of civil office in Pennsylvania was conditioned upon an oath which few but



Orthodox Friends and Anglicans could honestly take. It required an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Queen Anne, a denial of the right of the Pope to depose rulers, a declaration of belief in the Trinity, and a specific renunciation of the so called "mental reservation," so much feared by Protestants.

The separatist spirit was strongest in New England. Long before the other colonies had shown special signs of restiveness, British statesmen noted this tendency of New England, and warned their nation to use efforts to prevent the growth of similar feelings in other colonies. Coming to our own state, we note peculiar conditions which deserve somewhat detailed consideration.

It is well known to all who have studied, even superficially, the history of our state, that Penn was not the first to establish settlements within its boundaries. Dutch and Swedish immigrants were here long before the Welcome sailed up the South river. Our city flag, with its pretty contrast of blue and yellow, perpetuates the memory of the Swedish flag, among the first to fly over soil now included within the territory of Pennsylvania. Penn's great work was the organization of a commonwealth, the laying out of a city in a scientific manner and form, the providing of a body of laws and regulations adapted to secure the settlers in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against arbitrary interference. While, as we have just seen, religious freedom in the sense in which it is understood today by free-thinkers, was not granted, Penn laid so good a foundation that prosecutions for heresy, witchcraft and similar accusations that have stained so deeply all European countries, and even some of the American colonies, are almost unrecorded in Pennsylvania. The early settlers were largely of the Society of Friends, then orthodox as to the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, but heretical as to many of its ceremonies. They were a virtuous, shrewd, thrifty race, taking largely to trade and commerce.





When the agitation against British control began—for instance, the opposition to the “Stamp-act”—the political control of Pennsylvania was in their hands, and their doctrines of non-resistance were put in opposition to the militant rebellious spirit of many of the citizens. By securing and maintaining a special system of representation in the legislature of the colony, a system which involved not only disproportionate delegations from the eastern counties, but a property qualification for suffrage, the Quaker element was enabled to hold back for a long while official support by Pennsylvania of the separatist movement.

Penn advertised his colony widely, expatiating *inter alia* upon its guarantee of religious freedom, a powerful appeal to many Europeans, who had felt so deeply the tragedy that followed the great schism of the early Sixteenth century, known to Protestant historians as the Reformation, and to Roman Catholic historians as the Lutheran heresy. The result of this advertising was an influx of settlers that brought the colony into prominence, which together with its central geographic position, caused its chief city to be chosen as the place of meeting for the congress of the colonies. It does not appear that the members of the Society of Friends have ever been active pioneering people. They came to Pennsylvania under social and religious pressure, but we do not find them pushing out into the wilds of the Alleghanies. Two other streams of immigration had this pioneer spirit well developed, the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. Neither of these had any love for the British government, nor any respect for the non-resistance doctrines of the Friends. Neither was inclined to abide by the Indian policies that the Friends had established and observed. Contests between the Quaker element and the heirs of the Proprietor had been going on for some time, and to this element of disturbance was added an antagonism to the Quaker element itself. The formal entrance of Pennsylvania into the separatist movement was attained only by the fall of the Quaker government, and



before this occurred, the people friendly to separation had established a usurping body and begun to take the affairs of the Province into their own hands.

Meanwhile, the spirit of revolt against the mother country had spread thru the territory from Massachusetts Bay to the borders of the Spanish dominion, with differing force in the different sections, it is true, and with anything but unanimity in any section. It is difficult, nay, probably impossible, at the present day, to visualize the exact attitude of the different classes of the community and of the different sections towards the plan of actual secession. In discussing this we must not forget that all persons in the colonies had been brought up more or less under the doctrine that rulers derive authority from God, and that disobedience to such rulers, even when they are unjust, is wicked and impious. Many of the settlers in America had, it is true, arrived, by various methods of casuistry, at views that enabled them to distinguish between deserving and undeserving rulers, and many others held views that the people as such had a right to determine the nature of government, but in spite of all these aberrations a strong spirit of loyalty was much in evidence, and Quakers and Anglicans were mostly disinclined to break existing conditions.

It seems that many so-called "solid citizens" were against drastic measures, yet this class was well represented in Congress and in the Patriot army. Indeed, it has been said that the first meeting of the Congress was held in Carpenter's Hall to give some "middle class" flavor to the gathering of near-aristocrats. Yet one of the well-to-do residents of Philadelphia says of the first public reading of the Declaration that "very few respectable people were present."

I hold it to be impossible today to determine the stratification and line of cleavage among the mass of the people on the subject of the Declaration. John Dickinson, in justifying his vote against the resolution for independence, expressed, perhaps, the most philosophic view, namely, that independence should be the





goal, and should be declared, but not until all the colonies were bound in a reasonably firm union, and a battle terminating decisively in favor of the Americans should have been fought. I think that if this course had been pursued the war would have been much shorter and the formation of the "more perfect union" hastened. Ultimate success by the method that Dickinson opposed lost him his place among founders of the nation, although he served in the Patriot army.

It is well known that in the early '70's, Washington was opposed to the movement for independence, and Franklin said that he had never heard any one in America "drunk or sober" suggest separation from the mother country. Long before, however, Turgot, the great French statesman, had declared that such separation would come.

If we are zealously looking for evidence of the popularity of the movement for independence in 1776, we can find it, and if we are looking for evidence of loyalty to Great Britain, we can find that also abundantly, and we will not find either feeling confined to any particular stratum of society, or to any racial or religious distinction.

The Declaration of Independence, as we know it, the sacred, engrossed document, with its array of signatures, was an evolution, and when the first step in its making was taken no one saw what the last step would be.

Let us now turn to the detailed proceedings which led to the Declaration. We must always bear in mind that the proceedings of the Congress in those days were strictly secret, until publication was authorized by it. What private discussions led to definite action we do not know, but at the session of Friday, June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia, offered, with the approval of most, if not all, of the delegates from that state, the following resolutions, the manuscript of which, in his handwriting, is in the Library of Congress:



"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures of forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies, for their consideration and approbation."

These resolutions, it will be noted, do not contemplate any formal statement of reasons for the separation. The first resolution is a dogmatic assertion of final dissolution of allegiance. The third resolution contemplates specific efforts at a closer union of the colonies, a move that Dickinson thought should precede, not follow, the formal separation.

The consideration of the resolutions was postponed until the next day, and they were then taken up in Committee of the Whole, Benjamin Harrison of Virginia in the Chair. The committee rose without reaching any decision and asked leave to sit again on Monday.

There is no evidence that any part of these momentous proceedings was made known outside the membership of the Congress and the officers and attendants thereof.

At Monday's session, the first resolution was postponed until July 1st, and it was decided to appoint a special committee to prepare a formal declaration of reasons for affirmative action in case such action should be taken. It was probably known to the members from the statements in debate that the resolution for independence would receive the vote of a majority of the states (each state had one vote).

Two drafts of a declaration were reported to the session of June 28, and were ordered to lie on the table.

One of the drafts was taken up on July 1 and considered in Committee, final action being deferred "at the request of a colony." It is uncertain which colony asked for delay, probably South Carolina.

Richard Henry Lee's first resolution was passed on July 2. The fact was announced to the public by a





brief notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 3, in an inconspicuous part of the paper and without comment: "Yesterday, the Continental Congress declared these colonies to be free and independent States."

The formal Declaration was taken up on July 4 and adopted by the vote of 12 colonies, the New York delegates refusing to vote, as they had no definite instructions from their constituents.

Interesting features are the votes of Pennsylvania and Delaware. It is well known to those who have studied the early history of Pennsylvania that the area now included in the state of Delaware was originally part of Pennsylvania and it is much to be regretted that it was ever separated. For a considerable time the territory that William Penn had formed into a Commonwealth was described in official documents as the "Province of Pennsylvania and the counties of New-castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware." Some time before the Revolution these lower counties were allowed to set up for themselves.

Pennsylvania was then represented by seven delegates: Franklin, Morris, Dickinson, Wilson, Humphreys, Morton and Willing. Each state being entitled to only one vote, this vote in each case had, of course, to be decided by a poll of delegates in attendance. Now the first vote of Pennsylvania on the question of declaring independence, was cast in the negative, for the only affirmative voters of its delegates were Franklin and Morton, the other five voting in the negative. Wilson was favorable to immediate separation, but felt that he was not authorized by any instructions from the legislative body that elected him. Dickinson, as noted above, believed that separation from Great Britain would come, and was justifiable, but that the time was not ripe.

On the final vote on July 4, Dickinson and Morris absented themselves, Wilson changed his vote to affirmative, so that the poll was "yea," Franklin, Morton and Wilson, "nay," Humphreys and Willing, and thus the Keystone state went into the affirmative



column. The delegates from the "Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware" were three, McKean, Rodney and Read. Rodney was absent, McKean was affirmative and Read negative, hence the vote of the group was equally divided and lost. McKean, however, tells us that he sent a special messenger to Rodney, appealing to him to come in time for the final vote, as he (McKean) felt sure that Rodney would vote affirmatively. McKean further tells that Rodney arrived just in time, and without doffing his riding costume, or removing the evidences of his long dusty ride, went into the meeting and turned the scale so far as the lower counties were concerned.

Efforts are now making to glorify this ride, putting it on a plane with Revere's and Sheridan's, and, perhaps, even with that of the Marathon messenger. Before committing ourselves to an equestrian statue before the door of the State-house (as has been suggested) it will be well to inquire why Rodney was not on hand when the first vote was taken. He had accepted election as a delegate, and his duty was in Philadelphia, laying aside all business and excuses whatsoever.

Probably only three of the delegates present, Humphreys, Willing and Read, voted against the formal declaration, which was lying on the table and had been read. This was not the parchment engrossed document which contains the signatures, but the transcript in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson, with sundry amendments.

As to what happened next, there is some uncertainty and much erroneous impression. There is no doubt as to the non-occurrence of some incidents that have found their way into school-books. The "Ring, Grandpa, ring" incident is a fake pure and simple; an invention of George Lippard at a much later date. Its vogue is much to be regretted, for apart from its falseness it gives a very incorrect impression of the methods of the Congress, and of the feeling of the period. There is no reason to believe that any bell-





ringing was ordered, or that any public notice was given, except thru the official channels. Nor is there any foundation for the view that the members present signed the document. It was not the custom of the Congress, nor, indeed, any other legislative body, to issue proceedings or any part thereof signed by all members. The famous engrossed parchment was not in existence until near a month later. The Declaration took the usual course. The manuscript of the draft adopted was given to the printer, signed by the President and attested by the Secretary, and the fact that these signatures appear with the words "signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of Congress" is another evidence that the general signing had not taken place and had not been ordered.

The first newspaper publication of the text of the Declaration was on the afternoon of Saturday, July 6, in Towne's "Pennsylvania Evening Post." It appeared on the following Tuesday in a German newspaper, "Der wochentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote." It is important to note this, because enthusiastic descendants of German immigrants occasionally claim that the first publication was in German. It seems likely, however, that the first newspaper announcement of the adoption was in German, for the "Staatsbote" has in its issue of July 5 a statement that the Declaration had been adopted, was then in press and would be issued shortly.

The adoption was received with much favor thruout the Colonies, but adverse judgment was not wanting. By order of the Congress, it was formally read to the people of Philadelphia, in the State-house yard, by Captain John Nixon, on Monday, July 8. Of this incident we have unfortunately no full account. Relations of two eye-witnesses are to the effect that the listeners were largely of the lower stratum of society, and we may be sure that the street urchin and the corner loungee were on hand. Yet, after all, we must not regard the statement of one of the eye-witnesses, "very few respectable people were present," as indicat-



ing lack of interest or sympathy of the better classes. The members of these classes, then, as theretofore, and as now, do not stand in the crowd in such demonstrations. If present, they are generally on the platform or otherwise in the spot-light. Moreover, they had mostly read the text in the paper of Saturday afternoon, and we can have little doubt that it had been much discussed in the leisure of Sunday, July 7.

It appears, from the subsequent history of the Declaration, that the members of the Congress became convinced that it was advisable to bind all parties to a specific support of the act, so that in case of future disaster the responsibility could not be shifted to a few.

To assume that the leaders of the American revolution threw off with light heart allegiance to the King, is to underrate seriously their services and their sacrifices, and to lose entirely the true historical perspective. To modern Americans, this is incomprehensible. Like John of Brent,

"Little we reck \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* of long descent;  
Nor wot we how a name—a word—  
Makes clansmen vassals to a lord."

The signers of the Declaration of Independence had no such indifference. Every one of them was by birth a subject of the King against whom they were deliberately levying war. They knew well the British definitions of treason, and we should charge them with more than ordinary stupidity if we assume that they did not see that their acts brought them absolutely and irrevocably within the limits of those definitions. We do not have to speculate on this point, for the signers themselves have placed definitely on record their appreciation of the nature of their acts. It was because they know the gravity of their acts that they pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" to the cause; it was for the same reason that one of them said "we must all hang together or we will all hang separately," and that James Wilson said that he sat in the Continental Congress with a halter around his neck.





On July 19 Congress passed the following resolution:

"That the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment with the style and title of the unanimous declaration of the thirteen united states and that the same when engrossed be signed by all the members of the Congress."

This was done, and an entry in the minutes of the meeting of August 2 states that the engrossed copy was examined and compared at the table and signed by all the members. The list of signers had an important bearing on one of the disputed points. It is obvious that the signing could not have been on July 4, for a number of those whose names are attached were not members of the Congress at that date. Of the Pennsylvania delegation, George Clymer, Benjamin Rush, George Taylor, James Smith and George Ross were not made members until July 20 when they were elected by the Provincial Assembly, as noted in the newspapers of that date. Charles Carrol became a member on July 18.

The word "united" occurs three times in the engrossed document, and is spelled each time with a small "u." It appears that the members of the Congress were not ready to form a nation, but preferred a federation of sovran states. It is worth while to inquire who first used the broader title. An entry that I found in the printed journals of the Congress throws some light on this point, and gives the initiative to Thomas Jefferson. On June 17, a long report concerning exchange of prisoners was presented to the Congress by a committee of which Jefferson was chairman. This report—the original, in Jefferson's handwriting, is in the Library of Congress—has the phrase "representative of the United states of America," but the words "states of America" are crossed out and over them is written in John Hancock's hand "Colonies."

During the month of August, 1776, Congress formally adopted the title "United States of America."

Americans of the present day must bear in mind that the charges of injustice and tyranny, so strongly



expressed in the Declaration, are against the "King of Great Britain" and not against the British people or the general principles of the British Constitution. The pregnant utterance is: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world." Then follow twenty-seven specific charges all against the King personally, followed by the sentence "A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The colonists were well aware that many of the British people sympathized with them. The true nature of the issue is shown by the fact that during the war the contending forces were generally known in this country by the names "Patriot" and "Ministerial" army, respectively.

George III was like Charles I, of good moral character in private life, but a conscienceless despot in political principles. Neither represented the principles of government for which the British people have so long contended.

Some statistics in regard to the signers may be of interest. They numbered fifty-six. The youngest was Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, who lacked a few months of twenty-seven; Thomas Lynch, from the same state, was a couple of months older. The oldest was Benjamin Franklin, who was well past his seventieth anniversary; next younger than him was Stephen Hopkins, whose tremulous signature is well known. Forty-two, just three-fourths of the whole number, were between thirty and fifty years, so that the control of the Congress was easily in the hands of men in the prime of life, but those outside of these limits were active and efficient.

Death invaded the ranks first in the person of John Morton, who died in 1777; the final survivor was Charles Carroll, who died in 1832 in his ninety-sixth





year. Three died violent deaths: Lynch was lost at sea, Wythe was poisoned, probably criminally; Gwinnett was killed in a duel. Three were captured by the British. That they were not hanged was possibly due to fear of reprisals on the part of the Americans, for British statesmen then had about the same idea of the signers as the restored Stuarts had of the men who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. Richard Stockton, however, who was one of those captured, was so badly treated that his death is believed to have been hastened thereby.

Twenty-six were lawyers, nine merchants, seven farmers, six physicians. One was a minister, one a surveyor, two are classed as "statesmen," two as mechanics, one as a sailor and one as a soldier.

Many were college graduates, and all but a few had received good education in early life. Most of them were in good circumstances, some wealthy. Franklin, Sherman and Taylor were in humble circumstances in early life. Franklin was a printer, Sherman was apprenticed to a cobbler, Taylor was a "redemptioner" from Ireland, that is, received his transportation free on condition of being bound for a certain term of labor until his passage-money had been earned. Some of the signers had been abroad before becoming members of the Congress.

All were born subjects of the British crown, forty-eight in the colonies, eight in the mother country. Thirty were born north of Mason and Dixon's line, eighteen south of it. Thirteen were dead when the Constitutional Convention was called. Of the forty-three remaining only six signed the Constitution as submitted for ratification, but several others had been members of the Convention, and a few also had been offered election thereto but had declined.

All but very few were of definite religious convictions, and, except Carroll, who was a Roman Catholic, connected with some Protestant denomination. At least six were ministers' sons. A few, as is well known, were what is rather loosely termed "deists";



among these were some of the most distinguished and the only two of the entire body who reached the presidency.

Much remains to be determined as to general racial ancestry, but with few exceptions this was strictly British. John Morton is stated to have been of Swedish descent, but I have not found any other signer directly connected with Continental ancestry, nor does any Teutonic or Semitic strain appear.





## VALLEY FORGE

By MISS RUTH WANGER

O! Valley Forge your rugged hills  
Did shelter once our fathers brave,  
Who left their farms, their shops, their mills,  
Their country's liberty to save.

With patient courage long ago  
What sufferings here were bravely borne,  
Stern winter with its ice and snow  
And bitter winds and cruel storm.

George Washington and Anthony Wayne,  
And other brave ones not a few—  
Will meet not on these hills again  
Their former struggles to renew.

Green be the turf above the grave  
Of each whose ashes moulder here:  
The blessed memory of these brave  
Will sweeter grow each passing year.

Not sickness, pestilence nor death  
Could quench the fire of liberty  
That burned in every patriot's breath  
In glorious effort to be free.

Reluctant now we leave the place,  
And hallowed ever may it be;  
Its memories time may ne'er efface  
Of those who died for liberty.



## THE SIEGE OF PHILADELPHIA

By FRED PERRY POWERS

Frances Wright, who was the Emmeline Pankhurst—or perhaps I had better say—the Anna Shaw, of her day, visited this country over a century ago and lectured in Philadelphia about 1805. Of course she wrote a book about us—"View of Society and Manners in America"—which greatly interested Jeremy Bentham and led to an acquaintance and correspondence. On September 12, 1821, she wrote to him of a visit she had made to Lafayette at his country place. Among other things which she reported him as saying to her was this:

"When the news came to Europe of Howe's entrance into Philadelphia, an Englishman said to Dr. Franklin,—'Well, Doctor, Howe has taken Philadelphia.' 'I beg your pardon, sir, Philadelphia has taken Howe.' This was verified when Howe was shut up there for the winter."

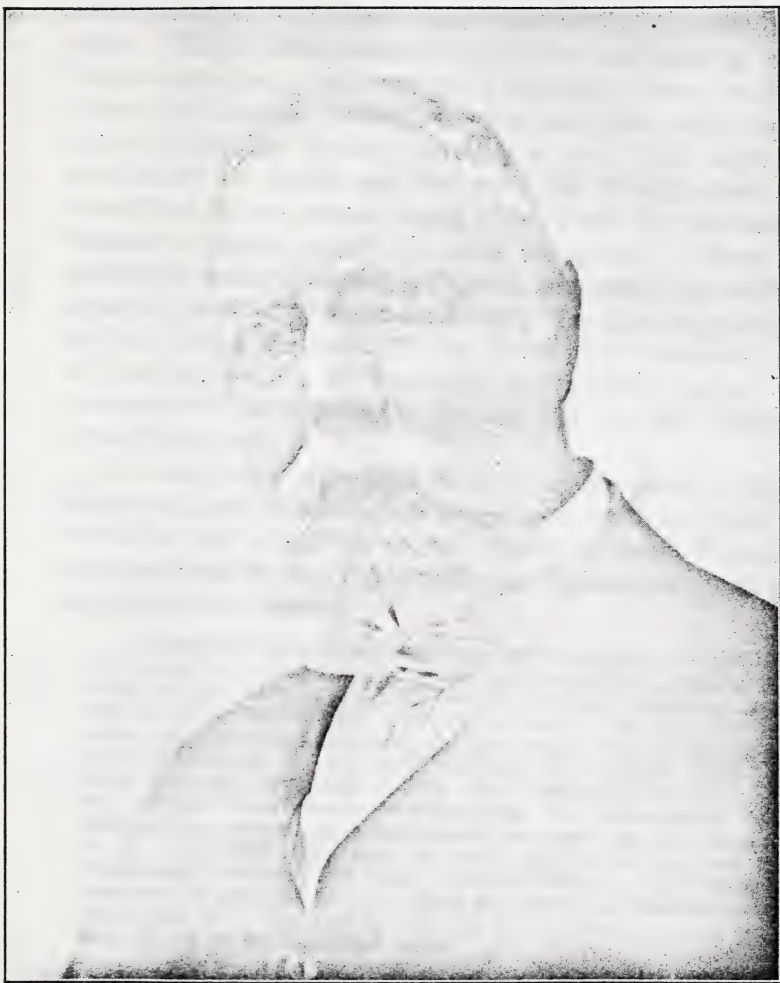
This is the authority for Franklin's *bon mot*, frequently quoted, but I think referred to its authority only by Parton. The letter is in Bowring's edition of Bentham's Works.

Franklin's prediction was Washington's purpose. There were persons who thought Washington should have occupied Philadelphia and held it against the enemy. It would undoubtedly have resulted in the surrender of Washington, as Lincoln was obliged later to surrender his whole army in Charleston, and the American cause would have collapsed. At all hazards Washington kept the field with an army. But on September 23, the day Cornwallis's column reached Germantown, Washington wrote to the President of Congress:

"I have planned a method of throwing a garrison into Fort Mifflin. If it succeeds, and they, with the assistance of the ships and galleys, should keep the obstructions in the river, Genl. Howe's situation in Philadelphia will not be the most agreeable, for if his supplies can be stopped by water, it may easily be done by land. To do both shall be my utmost endeavor; and I am not yet without hope that the acquisition of Philadelphia, may, instead of his good fortune, prove his ruin."







FRED PERRY POWERS



In the summer Washington had sent more troops than he could properly spare to the north for use against Burgoyne. If he had kept these it is not unlikely that he could have won the battle of the Brandywine. But in the summer of 1777 the one thing of vital importance was to prevent Burgoyne from coming down the Hudson and affecting a junction with Howe, thus cutting the United Colonies in two. Not until all possibility of doubt was removed did Washington believe that Howe would leave New York for the south instead of going north to meet Burgoyne. Howe is partially responsible for his own movement, but for the greater part of the responsibility for his movement, and all the responsibility for Burgoyne's undertaking of the impossible, is fastened in fit terms upon the incompetent Ministers of George III. by Sir George Otto Trevelyan.

On the same day that Howe's army reached Germantown, and Washington expressed the hope that it would be his ruin, Washington wrote to Israel Putnam, commanding in the Hudson River highlands, in these imperative phrases:

"I therefore desire that without a moment's loss of time you will detach as many rank and file, under proper generals and other officers, as will make the whole number, including those with General McDougall, amount to twenty-five hundred privates and non-commissioned, fit for duty. The corps under Genl. McDougall, to my great surprise, by a letter from him some days ago, consisted of only nine hundred & eleven. You will direct the officers commanding the detachment now ordered, to proceed as expeditiously as they can to reinforce me. . . . I must urge you by every motive to send on this detachment without the least possible delay. No considerations are to prevent it. . . . That you may not hesitate about complying with this order, you are to consider it as peremptory, & not to be dispensed with."

And yet, on October 30, McDougall had not arrived. On the day following the writing of this letter Washington wrote to General Gates:

"I therefore request if you have been so fortunate as to oblige Genl. Burgoyne to retreat to Ticonderoga, or if you have not, and circumstances will permit, that you will order Colonel Morgan to join me with his corps."

But on November second, Alexander Hamilton met





Morgan at Fishkill. On October 7th, Washington sent Colonels Christopher Greene and Angell, with Capt. Duplessis and some officers and men of the artillery, to Red Bank. In his instructions he said, "The whole defence of the Delaware depends upon it (holding Red Bank) and consequently all the enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia." On the 18th, he sent Lieut. Col. John Green, of Virginia, and 200 men to Fort Mifflin, and on November 1st, he reported to the President of Congress that the last detachment he sent "when it arrives, added to the force now in the forts, will make the whole amount to 1600 effective rank and file sent from this army."

The non-arrival of troops from the north and the vital importance of keeping the Delaware closed to Lord Howe's ships, led Washington, under the advice of a council of war, to send Alexander Hamilton to Putnam and Gates to see if some troops could not be pried loose from those commanders. Burgoyne's army had surrendered two weeks before Washington, October 30, wrote instructions to Hamilton:

"To point out in the clearest and fullest manner to General Gates the absolute necessity that there is for his detaching a very considerable part of the army at present under his command, to the reinforcement of this; a measure that will in all probability reduce General Howe to the same situation in which General Burgoyne now is, should he attempt to remain in Philadelphia without being able to remove the obstructions in the Delaware and open a free communication with his shipping."

But Gates had no desire to see Howe surrender to Washington. He, Horatio Gates, was the man, and he intended to remain the only man, to whom a British army had surrendered. There was already talk of the incompetence of Washington and the glorious achievements of Gates, and there were already men predicting great events if Gates were substituted for Washington. So vast a military reputation was never founded on so slender merits. The wilderness was impenetrable to Burgoyne, New England supplied militia as no other part of the country did, and Arnold led all the fighting, some of it against the orders of Gates, who



stayed in his headquarters while Arnold was driving the British northward.

In the same letter Washington said he understood that Gates had already detached the brigades of Glover and Nixon to join Putnam, and if so, he desired Putnam to send them at once. This was a mistake; Gates had already stationed Glover and Nixon near Albany for the winter.

Hamilton found Gates unwilling to give up more than one brigade of Continental troops. Gates's popularity was such that he had to be handled carefully, and Hamilton assented to this because of an unexpectedly large body of militia that he understood he could get. But Putnam held on to the militia until their brief term of service was so near its end that it was useless to send them to Washington, and Hamilton found out on November 5th, that the one brigade Gates proposed to send was the smallest of the three and did not contain more than 600 men, rank and file, fit for duty. Not even Gates's prestige could make Alexander Hamilton submit to this, and he was so energetic in his demands that Gates added Glover's to Patterson's brigade.

The journal of Lieut. Blake of the First New Hampshire shows that Poor's brigade left Albany October 23rd, was nearly two weeks at Fishkill, for reasons which Hamilton explains, and reached Washington at Whitemarsh, November 21st. Hamilton wrote to Washington November 12th—

"The past delay is not owing to any fault of his (Poor's) but is wholly chargeable on General Putnam. Indeed, sir, I owe it to the service to say that every part of this gentleman's conduct is marked with blunder and negligence. . . . I doubt whether you would have had a man from the Northern Army if the whole could have been kept at Albany with any decency."

When Poor's brigade reached Washington Fort Mifflin had been knocked to pieces and the garrison had abandoned it and joined that at Red Bank, where Donop's attack October 22nd, had been defeated, but the two garrisons had to leave Fort Mercer which was





untenable after Mifflin and the control of the river had been lost. Washington wrote to his brother:

"Had the reinforcements from the northward army arrived but ten days sooner it would have put it in my power to save Fort Mifflin which defended the chevaux-de-frise, and consequently have rendered Philadelphia a very ineligible situation for them this winter."

The fort on Mud Island called by the Americans Fort Mifflin must have been begun early in 1772 for Jacob Hilzheimer visited it October 31, 1773, and said it was commenced about 17 months before.

The defence of Fort Mifflin during six days of tremendous cannonading at short range is one of the finest things in the history of war. Fleury's daily reports to Washington are printed, in full, or in large part, in a foot note in Ford's Works of Washington, and in Wallace's Life of William Bradford. If the peace-at-any-price people will permit me to say so, these bulletins stir the soul of an unregenerate man who has some recollections of the Civil War:

"November 10th at noon—I am interrupted by the bombs and balls which fall thickly. The firing increases, but not the effect; our barracks alone suffer.

"Two o'clock—The direction of the fire is changed; our palisades suffer; a dozen of them are broken down; one of our cannons is damaged; I am afraid it will not fire straight.

"Eleven o'clock at night—The enemy keep up a firing every half hour. Our garrison diminishes; our soldiers are overwhelmed with fatigue.

"11th—The enemy keep up a heavy fire; they have changed the direction of their embrasures and instead of battering our palisades in front, they take them obliquely and do great injury to our north side.

"At night—The enemy fire and interrupt our works. Three vessels have passed up between us and Province Island without any molestation from the galleys. Col. Smith, Capt. George and myself wounded. Those two gentlemen passed immediately to Red Bank.

"12th—Heavy firing; our two 18-pounders at the northern battery dismounted.

"13th—The enemy have opened a battery on the Old Ferry Wharf, the walk of our rounds is destroyed, the block houses ruined. Our garrison is exhausted with fatigue and ill-health.

"14th—The enemy have kept up a firing upon us part of the night. Daylight discovers to us a floating battery placed a little above their grand battery and near the shore.

"At noon—We have silenced the floating battery. A boat which this day deserted from the fleet will have given the



enemy sufficient intimation of our weakness; they will probably attempt a lodgment on the island, which we cannot prevent with our present strength.

"At night of the 15th, the ruined fort was abandoned, and on the 16th, General Varnum wrote: 'We were obliged to evacuate Fort Mifflin last evening. Major Thayer (the latest commander) returned from thence a little after 2 this morning. Everything was got off that possibly could be. The cannon could not be removed without making too great a sacrifice of men, as the Vigilant lay within one hundred yards of the southern part of the works, and with her incessant fire, hand grenades and musketry from the round top, killed every man that appeared upon the platforms.'"

General Varnum says in his report that "more than one thousand and thirty discharges of cannon, from 32 to 12 pdrs. were made in twenty minutes from the batteries and shipping of both sides."

Washington had to contend not only with the "ignorance of some," to wit, Putnam, and "the design of others," that is Gates, in the language of Hamilton, but with treachery. The fate of Fort Mifflin was sealed when the British got armed vessels up the back channel behind Mud Island. It had been supposed that the passage was not navigable. When it was proved to our disaster that it was, the assumption at Washington's headquarters was that the current of the river had been deflected by the chevaux-de-frise in the main channel and had scoured a new channel for itself behind Mud Island.

There are evidences of a more sinister explanation. The Council of Safety had entrusted the placing of obstacles to navigation in the hands of Robert Smith, Captain Robert Whyte and Samuel Morris. Smith and Morris are above suspicion, and not being mariners they naturally left the work very much to Captain Whyte, a British shipmaster who had for many years sailed vessels out of the Delaware.

A letter from Wilmington, Del., November 10, 1777, and published in Rivington's Royal Gazette, New York, says of the lower obstructions at Billingsport:

"The Roebuck has raised three parts of the first tier in the face of the Rebels' whole fire. The man who laid the same is now in His Majesty's service."





George Grieve, the Englishman, in Philadelphia during a part of the war, who translated Chastellux' Travels, ten years after the siege, says:

"The person principally employed in sinking the chevaux-de-frise, and in securing the passage of the river, was one White, who is supposed to have left the river open designedly, as he afterward went over to the enemy, and distinguished himself by every act of hostile virulence against his country."

At some date prior to December 14, 1779, Whyte was attainted of treason by the State of Pennsylvania, and in April, 1782, he was in command of a royal cutter which was captured by one of our vessels and brought into New Brunswick. As soon as William Moore, President of Pennsylvania, heard of this he wrote to the Governor of New Jersey to send Whyte to this city, speaking of him as "an atrocious offender." But he had been exchanged before this was received.

Whyte undoubtedly knew the back channel to be navigable and gave the information to the British naval officers. He received a British naval commission, and lived in England after the Revolution.

Fort Washington on upper Manhattan Island was betrayed. Fort Mifflin, on which the control of the Delaware depended, was betrayed. Both were severe blows to the American cause. If the betrayal of West Point had been consummated there would have been an end.

The river was open, but Washington made such disposition of his scanty forces as to cut off supplies from the land as far as he could, and succeeded remarkably. Militia, and occasionally detachments from the army, kept near the city. Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, records reaching the Red Lion, still standing on the banks of Poquessing creek, a few minutes after an American party left. He captured an American picket post of about twenty men at the "Jolly Post-Boy" in Frankford, which was standing until about three years ago. There was an American picket at the Rising Sun Tavern, about Ontario street and Germantown avenue, and it was there that Elias Boudinot records that Lydia



Darrach—he does not give her name, but it was evidently her incident—came to him and gave him the information that Howe was to move against Washington at Whitemarsh. Robert Morton's diary records that on October 15th, ,

“the Americans came down to the middle ferry upon Schuylkill and cut the rope about 4 o'clock this morning, which caused some platoon firing between them and the Light Dragoons.”

Eleven days later he records that,

“about 3 P. M. a small part of Americans, mostly militia, attacked a sentry of the British upon the hill opposite Ogden's house at the middle ferry, which brought on a smart firing between them and the British picket. It continued about fifteen minutes when a regiment marched over the bridge to reinforce them.”

At the end of the month he wrote that,

“The Americans have advanced to the borders of Schuylkill on account of the British, at the destruction of their bridge, being obliged to retreat to this side.”

A few days later he saw Americans on the other side of the Schuylkill.

Robert's sympathies at the outset were rather British than American, but when Fort Mifflin fell he recorded,

“Thus by American perseverance and the fort's situation a British army of 12,000 men and a fleet of 300 sail had been detained in these operations near seven weeks by a power far inferior to theirs and which has always appeared contemptible in the eyes of men who have uniformly despised the Americans as a cowardly, insignificant set of people.”

On November 27th, Christopher Marshall reports that “our out scouts near Fair Hill had attacked and driven the enemy's pickets into the city.” On December 25th, he says, “Col. Bull with 2,000 militia made an excursion into 4th street.” They had three pieces of artillery and some of their cannon balls fell around Christ Church.

There was an American picket at the Blue Bell on Darby road which exchanged shots with the force of 3,000 men that Cornwallis marched down to Chester, November 18, to cross over to Billingsport. The Blue





Bell property has been acquired by Philadelphia for Cobb's Creek Park and the three-story part of the house, built in 1801, has been torn down, but the original house of two stories and Revolutionary associations has been saved.

On March 7, General Wayne attacked a foraging party and took prisoners and 250 cattle, and on March 18th, Christopher Marshall says, "a party of riflemen has taken four wagon loads of various goods within a mile of the Middle Ferry."

Evidence that the presence of American troops close to Philadelphia amounted to an investment is afforded by the very large forces without which the British did not move out of their lines. When Cornwallis moved out toward the Gulph hills merely to forage he took 4,000 men. There was a large movement of the British of which Sir William Howe reported to Lord George Germain,

"..... the passing a considerable detachment of the army across the Schuylkill on the 22nd of December to take post on the heights of Darby in order to cover the collecting and transporting by water, as well as by land, a large quantity of forage which that country afforded. About 1,000 tons were brought in, a quantity judged to be nearly sufficient for the winter consumption; and the detachment returned on the 28th of December without any further attempts from the enemy to retard the progress of the foragers, than from small parties skulking, as is their custom, to seize upon the straggling soldiers."

Christopher Marshall says that General Sullivan took thirteen provision wagons from the British. Robert Morton must have been right in saying in his diary that the greater part of the British army was engaged in this raid, for it is mentioned in the diary of Major Andre, who says, "the army huttet in an extent of three miles from Darby to Gray's Ferry."

Howe attempted a sortie, December 7-9, forming the greater part of his troops along the high ground from Chestnut Hill to Edge Hill, confronting Washington, whose troops were on the opposite high ground from what has ever since been known as Camp Hill to Fort Washington in Whitemarsh. Several small encounters



occurred, one on the American right nearly reaching the proportions of a battle, but no general engagement resulted. Washington was not strong enough to attack Howe, and after his appalling experience at Bunker Hill, Howe never attacked the Americans where they were entrenched.

There seems to have been no reason why Howe should not have turned Washington's flank by marching up the York road, but while Howe possessed some estimable qualities, enterprise was certainly not one of them. After feeling the front of Washington's position at several points, and not finding any weak spot, Howe marched back to Philadelphia, and the following week Washington took his troops to Gulph Mill and thence to Valley Forge.

John Lacey, afterward a brigadier general of the Pennsylvania militia, had a regiment in Potter's command in the encounter of December 11th on the Gulph road between Cornwallis's large force on a foraging expedition, and the head of Washington's column crossing a pontoon bridge at Matson's Ford on its way to the Gulph Mill.

Potter had a picket post close to the western end of the floating bridge at the Middle Ferry. The men there fired on the British troops and then fell back to the "Black Horse" tavern, Old Lancaster road and what is now City avenue (the tavern was demolished a few years ago, but the barn was standing recently) where there were 100 men who offered some resistance, and then fell back toward Potter's main force, which was ranged in lines some distance apart across the Gulph road, Potter's headquarters being at Harriton, the home of Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, built 1704 and still standing. Lacey says of the battle:

"Genl. Potter's brigade was ordered to take post on the West side of the Schoolkill. We passed over at a Ford a few Miles below the Sweeds Ford and encamped about three miles from the Gulph Mills on the Main Road leading from thence to Philada. Next morning about day brake we were alarmed by Colo. Edward Heston that the British were advancing up the Gulph Road. My Regiment was posted with the right to the main road, on an Emenance, two other regiments, one on





my left, the Other on the right. the remainder of the brigade was drawn off by Genl. Potter and posted on a hight about half a mile on our rear to cover our retreat. on the Enemies appearance, about two Hundred Yards in Our Front I ordered my men to commence firing, which was continued for three rounds, when the enemy opened a Battery of Cannon, with a discharge of small arms. we however stood our ground the men not offering to give Way untill I saw the Enemy advancing on Our Flanks, both the Regiments to my left as well as to my right gave way, and retired on the first Fire, left us exposed on both Flanks, I ordered a retreat—three or four men were cut down by the fire of the Enemy whose Bodies left—we retired into a Hollow—observing the Cannon Balls fired by the Enemy pass over our Heads cutting the Tops of the trees and striking the rising ground in our front—the ground on which we were first formed and for some distance back being Woods—I ordered the Men to Halt a few Moments untill the Enemy ceased firing—when we passed the line formed in Our Rear by Genl Potter and took post a few Hundred yards in their rear to cover their retreat. The Enemy were soon up to the second line which stood but one fire before they broak and fell back upon us. I tryed, as well as Potter and many of the other officers, to rally them but in vain. . . . many of the men threw away their guns that they might be less encumbered in running.”

Jonas Ingram was a captain of Bucks County militia and says: “I was at the battle called the Gulph Mills, and so afraid of being called a coward that I was the last on the battle ground (except two or three men who kept me company), and was very near being taken prisoner.”

Col. John Laurens of Washington's staff wrote to his father of this affair:

“The intelligence was received that the enemy were retiring in great haste, but it did not appear satisfactory, and the army was ordered to march to the Swedes Ford, three or four miles higher up the river and encamp with the right to the Schuylkill. The next morning the want of provisions—I could weep tears of blood when I say it—the want of provisions rendered it impossible to march. We did not march till the evening of that day. Our ancient bridge, an infamous construction which in many parts obliged the men to march by Indian file, was restored (Sullivan had broken it to prevent its use by the British) and a bridge of wagons made over the \*Swedes Ford, but fence rails from necessity being substituted to plank, and furnishing a very unstable footing, this last served to cross a trifling number of troops. As the event turn'd out, Genl Sullivan's retrograde movement was unspeakably unlucky. If we had persevered in crossing in the first

\*See p. 38.



instance, or if we had even crossed in the evening of the first day, the flower of the British army must have fallen a sacrifice to superior numbers."<sup>1</sup>

Potter was, of course, furious at Sullivan for not pushing forward and helping him against Cornwallis. Washington, who never cried over spilt milk, and invariably put the best construction possible on every action of his subordinates, wrote to the President of Congress from Gulph Mill:

"On Thursday we marched from our old encampment and intended to pass the Schuylkill at Madison's (Matson's) Ford, where a bridge had been laid across the river. When the first division and a part of the second had passed they found a body of the enemy, consisting from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, of four thousand men under Lord Cornwallis, possessing themselves of the heights on both sides of the road leading from the river, and the defile called the Gulph. This unexpected event obliged such of our troops as had crossed to repass, and prevented our getting over till the succeeding night. . . . They were met in their advance by General Potter, with part of the Pennsylvania militia, who behaved with bravery and gave them every possible opposition till he was obliged to retreat from their superior numbers."

On January 19 Col. Tarleton with 200 dragoons undertook to capture "Light Horse" Harry Lee, who was maintaining extreme vigilance on the roads and interfering with the British larder,—in a house still standing, with additions, a mile south of Berwyn station on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Recent owners have given the place the name of "Tarleton House." Lee had only about ten men with him but from the windows of the house he maintained such a fire upon the British that they finally withdrew with some casualties. Washington's orderly book for this period is not, I think, in print. The General Orders for January 20, 1778, contain this:

"The Commander-in-Chief (word erased) returning his warmest thanks to Capt'n Lee & officers & men of his Troop

1. A year later Colonel Laurens fought a duel with General Charles Lee over the latter's conduct at Monmouth Court House. Alexander Hamilton was the second to Laurens. Hamilton's Works contain a memorandum prepared by him and the other second recounting the affair in detail; probably the occasion for the memorandum was that the seconds held that honor was satisfied although no one was hurt. The memorandum sets forth that the duel occurred in the small woods near the 4 mile stone on the Point-no-point road. The mile stone still stands on Richmond street, formerly Point road. The duel between General Cadwalader and Gen. Conway growing out of the Conway Cabal occurred northeast of the city, and probably in the same location, which may have been the common duelling ground.





for the Victory which by their superior Bravery and Address they gained over a party of the enemy's dragoons, who, trusting in their numbers, and concealing their march by a circuitous road, attempted to surprise them in their quarters; He has the satisfaction of informing the Army that Capt'n Lee's vigilance baffled the enemy's designs by judiciously posting his men in his quarters; although he had not a sufficient number to allow one for each window, he obliged the party, consisting of two hundred, disgracefully to retire, after repeated but fruitless attempts to force their way into the house—leaving two killed and four wounded, without receiving any other damage on his part than having his Lieutenant, Mr. Lindsay, slightly wounded; unless any of his out patroles should have been unfortunately surrounded and taken, which is not yet known."

In March Gen. Lacey and Gen. McIntosh of the Continental forces met at the Spring House, still standing, and decided that it would be a good thing to move away all the inhabitants between the lines of the two armies. The patriots had probably already been driven out, and the loyalists managed to get some food into Philadelphia in exchange for gold and silver money. Lacey wrote of the plan to Washington, who replied that it was rather desirable than practicable.

On the morning of May 1, 1778, Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers surprised Lacey and 400 Pennsylvania militia at the Crooked Billet, near Hatboro, Pa. The Crooked Billet tavern still stands, but is a private house. The surprise was effected because a militia lieutenant left his outpost duty and returned to the camp. Gen. Lacey says of the flight of his men from their camp,

"I kept moving on till I made the woods, when a party of both horse and foot came up the Byberry road and attacked my right flank—the party from the Billet fell upon my rear—the horse from the rear of my camp came upon my left flank, and a body of horse appeared directly in front."

It is hard to see how any of them managed to escape. Simcoe says of the affair:

"A few men of the Rangers were wounded. . . . The enemy had 50 or 60 killed or taken. . . . This excursion, though it failed in the greater part, had its full effect of intimidating the militia, as they never afterward appeared, but in small parties, and like robbers."

In May, 1778, Washington sent Lafayette with 2,500 men to Barren Hill hoping for an opportunity to inflict some damage upon the British on their anticipated



evacuation of Philadelphia. Orders for the expected pursuit of the British, several crossings of the Delaware being indicated, were issued May 30. The actual movement of the army did not correspond with these orders. Probably there were later orders issued to meet changed conditions. I have found no contemporary record of the route taken by the army until it reached the Delaware river. But the diary of Lieutenant Blake in the History of the First New Hampshire Regiment shows that the two brigades that were started out of Valley Forge on the afternoon of June 18, crossed Sullivan's bridge. The rest of the army left at dawn on the 19th and probably by the same route. The troops that were sent to occupy Philadelphia might have been sent by Swedes' Ford, but would more naturally have crossed on Sullivan's bridge and marched down the east side of the Schuylkill. Sally Wister's "Journal" shows that Washington and the army passed her Uncle Foulke's house (still standing, at a corner of the North Wales road and a road from Norriton to Doylestown).

Lafayette's position at Barren Hill was probably revealed by spies or Tories, and three British columns were sent out to concentrate upon him. According to the narrative of Chastellux, who rode over this section with Lafayette, and presumably got his information from him, two officers who were to go to New Jersey met one of these columns and at once rode back and warned Lafayette. With considerable dexterity he eluded all three columns and reached Matson's Ford before the British could cut him off. Howe is said to have issued invitations for a dinner party to meet the Marquis.

Robert Morton's diary repeatedly speaks of the scarcity of food and the exorbitant prices, not only before November 15, but in December, after the river was opened. Christopher Marshall was not in the city during the siege, but he got news from there constantly, and on October 30 he says:





"The inhabitants in Philadelphia in great distress for provisions, as the soldiers seized all that was in the market, and were also seizing and taking away out of people's cellars and yards all their fire wood.

Nov. 1. That the poor inhabitants of Philadelphia are in a dreadful situation for want of provisions and fuel.

Nov. 22. Potatoes in Philadelphia at sixteen shillings a bushel, beef seven shillings six pence per pound, and a chicken at ten shillings, so great is their distress.

Jan. 28. That flour in Philadelphia was five pounds per hundred in hard money; beef, two shillings and six pence per pound; fire wood (oak) four pounds per cord."

I believe that Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe told Benjamin West that he posted a guard to save the Treaty Elm.

Presumably the British troops did not suffer in any such degree, but Dr. Schoepf, a Hessian surgeon who visited the city before the treaty of peace was signed, said: "The best meat is 4d a pound when we paid fifteen times as much in the year 1778."

The experiences of Elizabeth Drinker with Major Crammond constitute the most delicious comedy you could hope to get out of war:—

"Oct. 25, 1777—An officer called today to know if Genl. Grant could have quarters with us. I told him my husband was from me,<sup>1</sup> and a number of young children around me. I should be glad to be excused. He replied, as I desired it, it should be so.

Dec. 18—An officer who calls himself Major Crammond called this afternoon to look for quarters for some officer of distinction. I plead off; he would have persuaded me it was a necessary protection at these times to have one in ye house. He said that I must consider of it, and that he would call in a day or two. I desired to be excused, and after some more talk we parted. He behaved with much politeness, which has not yet been ye case at many other places. They have been very rude and impudent at some Houses.

Dec. 19—Major Crammond came to know if I had consulted any of my friends upon ye matter. I told him that my sister was out on that business; that I expected that we, who were at present lone women, would be excused. He said he feared not, for tho' I might put him off (as it was for himself he applied) yet as a great number of foreign Troops were to be quartered in this neighborhood, he believed they might be troublesome. We had a good deal of talk about the malbehaviour of British officers, which he by no means justified. He said that yesterday I had told him what sort of a man would suit in my Family; if I was obliged to take any, he was conscious that some of those qualities were his (which were early hours and little company); that there were very few of ye officers he could recommend; that Mr. Galloway<sup>2</sup> knew

1. He was with the Pennsylvania Exiles in Virginia.—Ed.

2. Joseph Galloway.



him very well; and that he would call again tomorrow to know my mind further.

Dec. 20—Crammond called a third time with ye same story over again. I put him off as before; he said he would call again tomorrow.

Dec. 29—Crammond was here this morning. We have at last agreed on his coming to take up his abode with us.

Dec. 30—J. Crammond, who has now become one of our Family, appears to be a thoughtful, sober young man.

Jan. 1, 1778—Crammond has 3 horses, 3 cows, 2 sheep, and 2 Turkeys,—with several Fowls in our stable. He has also 3 servants—2 white Men and one negro Boy called Damon. Ye servants are here all day, but away at night. He has 3 Hessians, who take their turns to wait upon him as messengers, or orderly men, as they call them—so that we have enough of such sort of company.

Jan. 2—J. C. had five Anspachers to dine with him. He spent ye evening out—came home before 10.

Jan. 5—J. C. had 11 or 12 officers to dine with him today. They made very little noise and went away timeously.

Jan. 6—J. C. came home in good time after dining at headquarters.

Jan. 8—J. C. had eight to dine with him today. He has not yet come home and it is near 11 o'clock. I shall soon be tired of such doings.

Jan. 16—J. C. stayed out last night till after 12, or nearer one.

Jan. 19—This morning our officer moved his lodgings from ye blue Chamber to ye little front parlour; so that he has ye two front parlours, a chamber up two pair of stairs for his baggage, and ye stable wholly to himself; besides ye use of ye kitchen.

Jan. 20—J. C. here this evening. Ye Play House was opened last night for ye first time. Our Major attended. He came home a little after 10 o'clock.

Jan. 29—Our Major stayed out last night till between 12 and one at a concert at headquarters. I fear he will do the same tonight, as he is gone to an Assembly.

Feb. 1—Our Major has company to sup with him tonight; it is now near 12 o'clock and they have not yet broken up.

Feb. 7—It is now between 11 and 12 o'clock and our officer has company to supper with him; ye late hours he keeps is the greatest inconvenience we have as yet suffered by having him in ye House.

Feb. 14—I am out of all patience with our Major—he stays out so late—almost every night.

Feb. 17—Our Major had 8 or 10 to dine with him; they broke up in good time, but he's gone off with them, and when he will return I know not. I gave him some hints, 2 or 3 days ago, and he has behaved better since.

The example of Major J. Crammond—except in the matter of late hours—is commended to all military men in occupation of a conquered city.

On June 18, the siege of Philadelphia ended by the retreat of the British troops, who had been here nine





months without acquiring a foot of territory beyond their pickets, and who never ventured outside their defences except with forces of two or three and even four thousand and more.

Allan McLane's cavalry were in Philadelphia before the last Englishmen got away. A man went down to the west end of the floating bridge at Market street, but could not cross because the British had broken up the bridge to prevent Washington's pursuit. People on the other side shouted to him that the British were evacuating the city. He carried the news to Valley Forge and before night two brigades had crossed Sullivan's Bridge and gone into camp three miles north of it. All the rest of the army left Valley Forge at daylight the next morning.

Note p. 32—Col. Laurens undoubtedly meant to refer to the crossing at Matson's Ford, the only place on the river where wagons were used to form a bridge by having fence rails laid across them; and where Gen. Sullivan made his retrograde movement.—Ed.



## REVOLUTIONARY HEROES BURIED IN ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY

By CLARA A. BECK

In the history of every organization there are some events of interest and importance which can not be classified under any particular head, and, therefore, many occurrences connected with the history of St. John's, at Centre Square, Pa., must be preserved as "Miscellaneous Records."

At the present time when one of the D. A. R. Chapters is planning for the erection of a marker in honor of the Revolutionary soldiers who either were connected with this colonial church and are buried in its cemetery or who died here when it was used as a hospital after the battle of Germantown and were laid to rest in the "trench" grave prepared for them in the old burial ground, it might be of interest to know something about St. John's "patriots" and the nature of their service. The following is a partial list of men on St. John's "Honor Roll," of Whitpain township.

PETER FLECK, who enlisted Jan. 8th, 1776, as a "private" under Col. Arthur St. Clair. He was wounded, but survived, and died in Huntingdon County, in 1818, aged 65 years.

SERJ. ISAAC DAVIS, enlisted May 28th, 1778, in the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, under Josiah Harmer. On May 28th, 1779, he was made second lieutenant of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line.

JOHN DAVIS, reported "missing" at the battle of Three Rivers, June, 1776, and recommended for "Ensign" July, 1776. He was later made adjutant of "The Flying Camp" of riflemen under Col. Arthur St. Clair. He was wounded by refugees while in South Carolina, and was transferred to The Invalid Regiment.

COL. JOHN SHEE, 3rd Pennsylvania Battalion, died in Penn township, Snyder County, Pa., in 1792.





CHRISTIAN MOSER, who fought in the Battle of Germantown, helped "Mad Anthony" take Stoney Point and was in the dreadful "Massacre at Paoli." He died in 1830, and was nearly 84 years old; his will on record in Norristown, expressly stipulates that he shall "be taken to the Lutheran church in Whitpain township for burial."

FREDERICK ZERVAS (ZEARFOSS), who volunteered to go as a "substitute" for Henry Richert, of Northampton County, and saw service on the frontiers under Lieut. Col. Christain Shouse; returned Oct. 3rd, 1781. Buried at St. John's.

JOHN FITZGERL (Fitzerald), saw service at King's Bridge, N. Y., and served under Capt. Samuel Miles, Apr., 1776, in the famous Rifle Regiment.

ADAM HOFFMAN, who enlisted Sep. 9th, 1777, and in August of 1780, served in the 2nd Regiment of Foot under Capt. John Hewson.

PHILIP DART, drummer, enlisted August, 1778, in the 3rd Pennsylvania, Continental Line in Lieut. Colonel's company.

HENRY FREEDLEY, enlisted Jan. 8th, 1776, as a private in the 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Arthur St. Clair. This Battalion was associated with the 4th Battalion under Col. Wayne and the 6th, under Col. William Irvine. It was within three miles of Quebec, when it met Gen. Thomas with his army in retreat. On Jan. 24th, 1777, it left, with Wayne's Battalion for home, and according to Muhlenberg's Journal, arrived in Providence township, Montgomery County, Feb. 15th. These men suffered so greatly from want of clothing and food, and although compelled to build breast-works and travel on foot many times, they received no pay, and were compelled to petition Congress for justice, so that they might again go to the defence of their country.

JOHN KLEHR (Clair) was an officer on the provincial ship "Pennsylvania" in 1757, on which ship he held the office of "Mathematician." During the Revolutionary War. He enlisted as a "private" in the 11th



Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, under command of Col. Adam Hubley; (From Hubley's Field Book.) June 3rd, 1783, he was transferred to Col. Thomas Hartley's Regiment, Continental Line.

GEORGE KLEIN (Kline) enlisted Jan. 1st, 1777—81, in the 3rd Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, under Col. Thomas Craig, and at the close of the war received "Depreciation Pay."

CORP. JOHN HERTH, enlisted in the 9th Pennsylvania, Continental Line, under Lafayette, from August 1st, 1780, to Nov. 26th, 1780, when he was taken from the ranks of the "privates," and made a corporal in the 5th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line.

PHILIP MARKLEY, a member of the New Hanover Lutheran church, and a member of The Council of Safety, at a meeting, held on Saturday, Nov. 8th, 1777, was appointed "A commissioner for Philadelphia, (now Montgomery) County, to collect supplies for the army. Philip Markley was buried at St. John's, Centre Square, and his grave has been marked by Valley Forge Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

JACOB KOCH, a private in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, enlisted in Nov. of 1776, under Col. Arthur St. Clair.

CONRAD LUTZ, one of the men on "Guard at the Powder House" in Philadelphia, under Captain Jehu Eyre in August 1775; in 1776 went with the same company of Philadelphia Militia which marched to Trenton Dec. 6th, and remained there for six weeks.

JOHN SHERER (Shearer), private of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, whose papers of enlistment were lost at Long Island; was in Captain Hamilton's Company. He was with the "Flying Camp," and in 1778 with the Artillery Artificers, and for three years served as "Matross" traversing the guns, sponging, firing and loading them.

JOHN WEAVER (Weber), of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, under Col. Samuel Miles, which was made up of men of the Continental Line and which had been in the "bona fide" service of the province of





Pennsylvania, was mustered on parade at the barracks in Philadelphia and the men of this regiment, "numbering 209 rank and file" enlisted, April 7th, 1776, and were honorably discharged Jan. 1st, 1778; from Oct. 9th, 1780, until Oct. 31st, 1781, John Weaver was one of the Surgeon's mates of the Invalid Regiment, Continental Line; in 1821 he was living near Germantown.

SILAS JONES, in Third Battalion, Philadelphia now (Montgomery) County, Militia, these men received pay in advance for turning out in their "classes," in 1781, to give two months service; they were practically volunteers, inasmuch as their turn for enlistment had not come.

ADAM MULLER (Miller), enlisted Apr. 30th, 1778, in the German Regiment under Lieu't Col. Weltnier. This Regiment made up of 4 companies of Pennsylvania men and 4 companies of Maryland men, took part in Sullivan's Campaign against the Indians, and in 1780 was stationed near the frontiers of Northumberland County, Pa.

ANDREW SOX, Private of Continental Line, 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, who enlisted May 15th, 1777, in Captain McGowen's Company, was living with Mr. Charles Corson in Upper Providence township and died there May 23rd, 1826; buried at Barren Hill.

ADAM HUMPSHER, a pensioned soldier of the Revolution, born Oct. 17th, 1759, died Jan. 31st, 1845. He was connected with St. John's, and was buried at Wentz's Reformed church.

GEORGE CULP, in the service of the Province of Pennsylvania under the Deputy Quartermaster General in the capacity of an Artificer had been in the pay of the Provincial government, as a carpenter in the army.

THOMAS NICHOLS, who had also served the Provincial Government, under Capt. Caleb Graydon, had been in Graydon's garrison at Fort Augusta from Jan. 1st to June 13th, 1775.

JOHN EBERHART, a private in the Second Regiment, Continental Line, was among the men who re-



ceived "Depreciation Pay."

PETER FLECK, enlisted Jan. 8th, 1776, under Col. Arthur St. Clair; he was wounded, but survived.

JACOB HOFFMAN, served as a "Seven Months" man, in the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, under Capt. Jacob Humphries, in 1780.

MICHAEL MITCHELL, was appointed to service, May 14th, 1778, with the Canadian Regiment, Continental Line, which regiment was commanded by Col. Moses Hazen, and was considered a part of the State quota.

JOHN MILLER, joined the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, Sep. 1778, under the command of Col. Josiah Harmer.

ADAM MULLER (Miller), was a private in the German Regiment, Apr. 30th, 1778, under Lieu't Col. Weltner.

JACOB MILLER was sergeant Major of the 19th Regiment, Pennsylvania, Continental Line, 1778.

JOHN SOLAMON, Corporal in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, received "Depreciation Pay."

GEORGE SMITH, German Regiment, Continental Line, in 1777, was afterwards transferred to the Invalid Regiment.

MICHAEL VOLLMER (Fulmer), Over Adj't, Philadelphia County Militia, was in the service of the United States.

JACOB BOOZ, was enlisted as Fifer in the Musketry Battalion under Col. Samuel Atlee, at Camp near King's Bridge, N. Y., in 1777. This Regiment had been in the Continental service, its Sergeant was wounded; its Corporal was killed; 16 men were missing and an equal number in the hospital. Jacob Booz later served as Fife Major in Col. John Bull's Regiment, and still later is listed as an officer (Fife Major) in the 13th Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line.

HENRY FREEDLEY, enlisted Jan. 8th, 1776, under Col. Arthur St. Clair, as a private, 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion; among interesting records concerning him





we find the following: Oct. 25th, 1781. . . . Received of Henry Freedly, Department Commissary of Provisions, the sum of 16 shillings for 48 rations of beef due unto the 2nd Company of the 7th Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia; same rec'd by me John Huston, Capt. Lieu't.

NICHOLAS SLOUGH was mustered in Dec. 11th, 1778, with the 4th Battalion Philadelphia County (now Montgomery), Militia under Col. William Dean. (Nicholas Slough was the ancestor of Ephraim Slough, well known attorney of Norristown, Pa.)

JOHN WAGONNER, enlisted, Sep. 1st, 1781, in George Taylor's Regiment of Foot, in the service of the United States.

PETER BISBING, Fife Major in the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, under Col. Bull, 1778; later Fife Major in the Musketry battalion.

BEORGE BOYER, in Capt. Gougler's Company, called into actual service, Oct. 1781, Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, under command of Col. Anthony Bitting. George Boyer was born in Frederick township, in 1762, and died, Feb. 28th, 1828, and is buried in the cemetery of St. John's Lutheran church, Centre Square, Pa. He was the ancestor of Attorney John Dettre, of Norristown, Pa.

JOHN ZIEBER, 4th class, Captain Michael Caugler's Company, was called into actual service in October, 1781, under the command of Colonel Anthony Bitting; John Zeiber is buried in St. John's cemetery, Centre Square, Pa., his grave being close to that of George Boyer, to whom he was related through marriage.

JOHN HISTE (Heist) enlisted Aug. 7th, 1777, on the muster roll of Capt. Anthony Lechler's Company, of the third class, Philadelphia militia, in the United State, commanded by Lieu't Colonel Jonathan B. Smith.

HENRY RHILE (Rile), enlisted as a private in the service of the United States, Aug. 4th, 1778, under the command of William Bradford, Esq.; his captain was



Joshua Humphreys, who belonged to a Whitpain family.

HENRY SHEARER, enlisted Sep. 14th, 1778, from Lieu't Henry Meyer's Company, Philadelphia militia, in the service of the United States. At the present time the Shearer family are mostly connected with Boehm's Reformed church, but in Revolutionary days, some of the members of the Shearer family lived near Custer station, and one of the daughters married a pastor of St. John's.

SAMUEL PRINTZ, enlisted Sep. 25th, 1778, as a private, in the service of the United States under Col. William Bradford, Esq. The Printz family, although now connected with Bethel M. E. church, were originally Lutherans, and connected with St. John's, where many of the family were buried in early days.

ANTHON HECHT, served in Captain George Honey's Company, Northern District City Guards, commanded by Lewis Nicola, Town Major, City of Philadelphia, in 1776; Anthon Hecht was a school teacher, a man of learning and classical culture, and after the war was ordained to the Gospel ministry, and became the second pastor of St. John's Lutheran church, at Centre Square, Pa. He lived in a small log house near the present borough of North Wales, and tradition says he died there. It might be interesting at this point to note that Dr. Johann Frederick Schmidt, the first pastor of the church, was driven from Philadelphia during the Revolutionary war; the second, Rev. Anthon Hecht, helped to guard the northern limits of the City, (near Whitemarsh) and a third, Dr. John Hassler, was chaplain in the war of the Rebellion.

ISAAC McCLATHERY, was one of the guides who helped to lead Washington's army through Whitpain to the Battle of Germantown; (the McClathery's built the house now owned by Mrs. Famous). In 1812 William McClathery was captain of the 142nd Regiment, Light Infantry, under the command of Col. Louis Bache, which was attached to the First Brigade, 2nd Division, called into service Aug. 1814; among the men in this





company who were connected with St. John's at Centre Square, Pa., were the following:

Ensign George Bisbing, Sergeant Richard Osborne, Corporal Abraham Lutz, Privates: Henry Berkheimer, Jacob Betz, Adam Fleck, George Hurst, Jacob Zearfoss, William Bisson, Jacob Shearer, Nicholas Gerhart, Adam Lutz, Jacob Levering, John Martin, Henry Deem, Adam Deem.

War 1812:

ADAM SLOUGH, 36th Regiment of Infantry; (he was born in 1788, died in 1832, and is buried at St. John's).

ABRAHAM SLOUGH, served with the 130th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Col. Lutz; (buried at St. John's).

HENRY BISBING, Volunteer Rifle Regiment in the service of the United States, in the 7th Company, 1st Regiment, 1814.

JOHN KNEISEL, 51st Regiment Infantry, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

FREDERICK KLAHR (Clair) under Col. Thomas Humphrey; his widow, Hannah (Supplee) Klahr, received a pension.

ABRAHAM DANNEHOWER, 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Pennsylvania Militia in service July, 1814.

JOHN FITZCHARLES (Fitzgerald) in active service.

LIEUT. JOHN MILLER, 1st Regiment; in service among Rangers; (Buried at St. John's, where his descendants are still members).

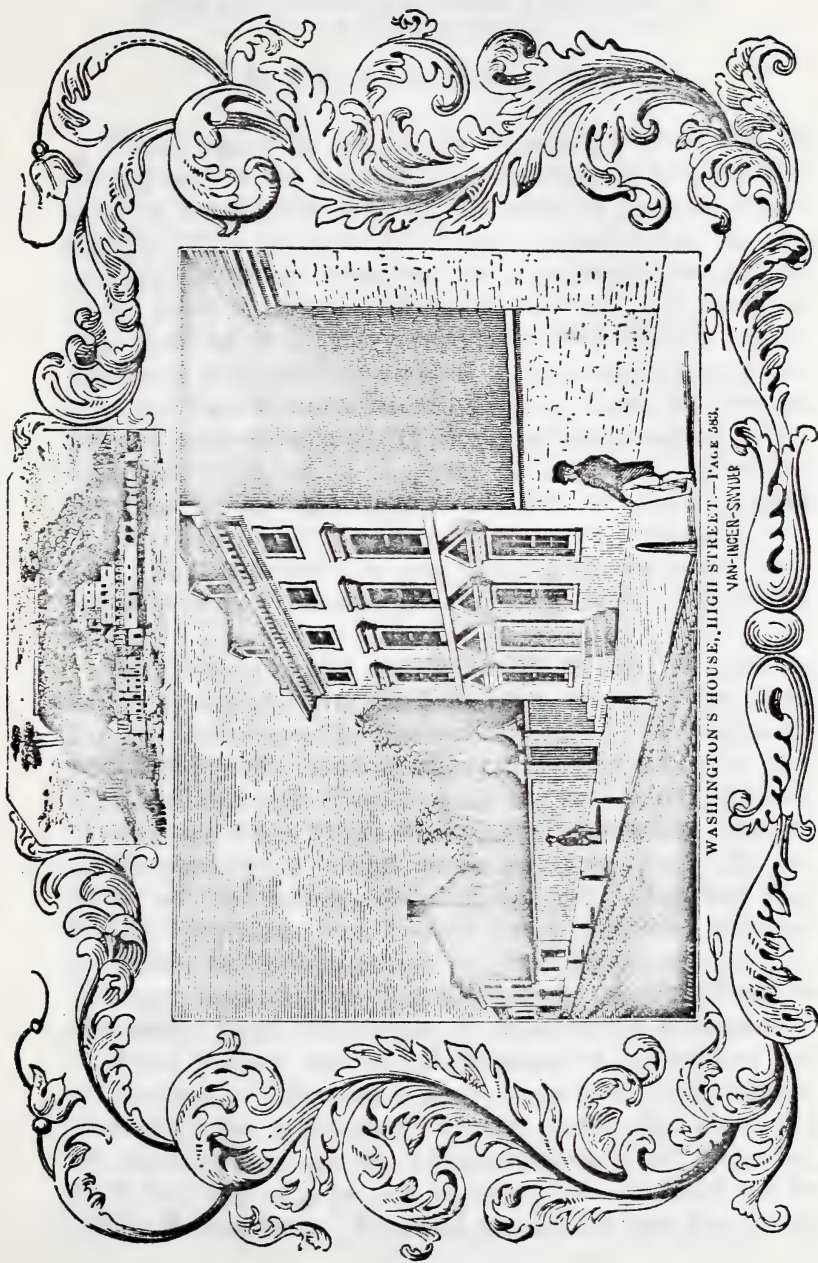
DANIEL FRIES, Rifle Regiment, 1st Battalion, 1st Brigade, 11th Division, June, 1812.

GEORGE HEIST, Tour of Duty, rendezvoused at York, 1814, under command of Capt. George Ritter.

JACOB LUTZ, 131st Rifle Regiment, 1812.

JOSEPH HOFFMAN, 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Service of the United States, July 4th, 1814.





WASHINGTON'S HOUSE, HIGH STREET.—PAGE 283.  
VAN-INGER-SWUP

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA





## PENNSYLVANIA'S RELATIONSHIP TO WASHINGTON

By J. P. HALE JENKINS, ESQ.

There seems to me, to be a peculiar propriety in having one of the four stated meetings of this Society held on the anniversary of the birth of George Washington. This is apparent from the fact, that in this county, not then organized as a separate county, he spent more than six months of his busy and eventful life, most of it at the Encampment at Valley Forge. This was a longer time spent in any one place, other than his own beloved Mount Vernon, from the time he left his home to attend the Continental Congress in the spring of 1776, up to the time of his death, excepting the time he was President of the new Republic, located at the Capital, either New York or Philadelphia.

I think it is well to comment on the intimate relationship which George Washington bore to Pennsylvania.

When he was but sixteen years of age, he was detailed by his relative, Lord Fairfax, to carry the chain for the surveyors for the survey which the engineers selected by him were authorized to make of the vast estate of the rich Virginian, in the valley of Virginia, beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. Probably because of his experience in this work, but most probably, because of the recommendation of Lord Fairfax, this young Virginian, just twenty years old, was selected to make an investigation of the conditions of the frontier, and deliver the ultimatum of the Virginia Governor, Lord Dinwiddie, to the French commander that the French should not impinge on the sacred soil of Virginia. This was a most hazardous undertaking, especially for a youth of twenty years, but receiving an appointment as an adjutant-general of Virginia, with the rank of a major, he accepted, and well did he perform this duty. I visited within the last few years



an old log hut along the banks of the Allegheny River, near Meadville, where Washington on this perilous mission was housed for a few days. This report of Washington, showing the encroachments of the French, was very satisfactory, and later upon the breaking out of the French and Indian war, Washington was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel, and joined what was then conceived to be Braddock's Invincible Legion. Here it was that the military career of George Washington commenced, right here in Pennsylvania. With a few men he marched to the Great Meadows, near Uniontown, in Fayette County, and surprised the French, but one of the enemy escaping capture. Here in this State the military career of George Washington began, and here it ended. With Alexander Hamilton and the men raised to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794; and as the President of this country, he marched at the head of his men, from Bedford to Carlisle. It can therefore be truthfully said, that Washington's celebrated military career began and ended in the Keystone State.

The fact, however, is that almost every great historic act of the great Washington was in some way identified with our dear old Pennsylvania. With the exception of his birth and death, and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, every remarkable act in his life was in some way identified with Pennsylvania.

On the breaking out of the French and Indian War in 1754, the British government placed all of the regular and colonial troops under the command of a distinguished English general, Edward Braddock. Washington rejoined the army and became an aid to the British commander. After the defeat of this army, and the mortally wounding of the General, the command devolved upon this young Virginian, then just past twenty-three years of age. The successful manner with which Washington withdrew the remnant of that army, with its dying commander, to a place of comparative safety, demonstrated his great ability in





that respect, and was the first real test of his capacity in having an independent command.

On the 15th day of June, 1776, nineteen days before the independence of the colonies was declared, George Washington was elected Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Colonies, by the Continental Congress, in session in Philadelphia. The armies were at that time located near Boston. His acceptance of this appointment prevented him from affixing his signature to the immortal Declaration. He was selected to this position, because of his known military genius, displayed when he succeeded General Braddock after his terrible defeat in Western Pennsylvania in 1755; because he was the foremost man in all the colonies from a military point of view, and because he hailed from the great state of Virginia, the most populous of the thirteen.

The masterly manner with which he handled the trying situation at and around Philadelphia, during the autumn and early winter of 1777, was later recognized by a senile Congress. He did not allow himself to be caught in that city as did General Lincoln at Charleston. Had he attempted to have held Philadelphia, the British holding the water approach, and Washington being overmatched in number by the enemy, he would, like Lincoln, have been obliged to capitulate with the army, and the bright future of the American Republic would have been blasted. He yielded up the city, but he retained the army, who half-clad and not half-fed, were placed in winter quarters at Valley Forge. Here for six months did Washington labor with a weakening Congress imploring it to do justice to the men. Here the "Conway Cabal" almost secured the displacement of the General; and here Lafayette, a boy of twenty, and in some respects a soldier of fortune, strongly adhered to his beloved Commander. The promise of an independent career made him was not accepted, until after the Commander-in-Chief assented to it. The story of Valley Forge will not be attempted to be retold here. It is too long, and has been so well told



by orators and historians, that a mere passing notice is all that is required. For my purpose is simply to show how General Washington's career is so intimately connected with the history of Pennsylvania.

One of the greatest acts in the life of George Washington was the silencing of the efforts of a chosen few of the army as it lay in Newburgh, New York, after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, to have the army declare for and proclaim him King. Here it was that George Washington rose to the heights of a deity almost. The mistaken effort of a Pennsylvanian, Colonel Louis Nicola, an old and valued friend of Washington, in preparing and delivering to him the address which couched in terms of great admiration for the Commander, and pessimistic of the future of the country, if not governed by a king, was answered by him in such a decided manner, that nothing was afterward heard of it. Too little credit is given by historians to this great act of George Washington. Let me repeat the answer to this memorable proposition, for had Washington been clothed with the ambition of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, this Republic of ours, the hope of the world, would have been impossible.

George Washington in his answer said:—

“With a mixture of surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which seems to me big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time in justice to my own feelings, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see justice done to the army than I do; and so far as my power and influence in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or pos-





terity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature."

Another great act in his drama of life, was the voluntary resignation of the Commission of Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies to Congress, December 23rd, 1783. This ceremony took place in Annapolis, Maryland, but was delivered to the President of Congress, Thomas Mifflin, a Pennsylvanian.

It was in Pennsylvania that the Constitutional Convention met, which gave to you and to me, our children and our children's children forever, that great Magna Carta, which, let us hope we will ever treasure as a nation. Over this great deliberative body, did George Washington preside. It is doubtful indeed if ever it would have been called to order, had not Virginia sounded the keynote of necessity, and selected him one of her delegates. Other states then followed.

Whilst his first inauguration as President was had in New York, practically the whole of the eight years of office as the Chief Magistrate of the new Republic, was spent in Philadelphia. Here was conceived that splendid method of Alexander Hamilton, which made stable for all time to come the financial condition of the Republic. Here, notwithstanding the objection of Thomas Jefferson, was adopted that doctrine of neutrality, in all European disputes, which has since been universally recognized as the wise course for the nation to pursue. At least in the initial years of its existence, it was most wise. And here after having been selected as the Commander-in-Chief of the army in the great war, then believed to be inevitable, between our Republic and our recent ally, France, fell these words, in Halls of Congress, then in session in Philadelphia, which are ever memorable. They were written by the father of Robert E. Lee, Henry Lee, and first publicly pronounced by George Washington's young Virginia friend, later Chief Justice, John Marshall, in presenting the resolutions announcing the death of the illustrious Washington, wherein he was described as



“First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

We certainly have made no mistake in selecting the anniversary of Washington's birth, to be one of the regular meetings of our Society.







PENNYPACKER'S MILL, Schwenksville, Pa.



## PENNYPACKER'S MILL

HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

When the invitation which was extended to me to be here today was received I took it for granted that it was offered to me as the representative of that Pennsylvania family which through the last century from 1747 owned these lands, and possessed these mills, and that it would be expected of me that I should be able to add something to the information to be presented to you today. It is true that I have very much of the original material. That is, I have the old deeds for these mills, the first of them written by Francis Daniel Pastorius, "the Pennsylvania Pilgrim"; one of them signed by Hans Jost Heydt, who became very famous in Virginia history. I have, too, the large family Bible which belonged to Samuel Pennypacker at the time of the Revolution and in which he made his memoranda concerning the encampment of the army, a Bible which years before had been brought from Europe by his father, Peter Pennypacker, who, as early as 1736 was elected assessor of Philadelphia County.

I have, too, a paper presented to Governor Morris at the time of his taking possession of office in 1755, signed by Peter Pennypacker and others; and I have also two letters of George Washington written from this camp, both of them dated "Camp at Pennypacker's Mill." All of these I shall be very willing to submit to Mr. Buck when he comes to write upon the subject, if he should desire to see them. To present them to you now, however, would be to interfere with the paper which has been so carefully and industriously prepared by Mr. Kratz, who is to follow me, and in thinking over what I should do I concluded to present to you this afternoon the poetry which has been written concerning this camp. Now I am fully aware that in getting





away from Scylla I have run into Charybdis, and in trying to avoid Mr. Kratz I have run athwart of my friend, Colonel Zimmerman, and Mr. Sheeleigh who has just preceded me. But if you will assume that I have a paper upon the poetry of Pennypacker's mill—I ought to say to you there is no such paper, but if you will take it for granted that I have such I shall endeavor to present that poetry to you.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Parke was an officer in Washington's army. He was born in Dover, Delaware, and as a young man went out into the field. He accompanied the army in all its movements, and having a taste for verse, when he came to a camp he sat down and he wrote, and when he came to Pennypacker's mill he wrote what he described as an elegy upon Sir Wm. Howe. That is the first of the poems that I have to present to you:—

"Say what do you seek from far Albion's shore?  
What demon beckoned thee to quit the strand;  
What luckless bark thy guilty genius bore  
To stain with slaughter this once happy land?"

James McMichael was a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line in Colonel John Bull's regiment. He was with the army and traveled through the country, and on his way he kept a very interesting journal which gives as graphic a description of military movements as can be found anywhere. I have no doubt that Mr. Kratz will present it to you. He tells us that he had a great deal of difficulty in talking with the people from Pottsgrove over here, because they talked German and he talked English and they could not understand him; and to make the matter worse he then tried to talk to them Latin and he says they understood that worse than they did English, so that he had very much trouble. He, too, was something of a poet. He says they left Pottsgrove at nine A. M. for Pennypacker's Mill, where they encamped. \* \* \*

So much for the contemporary poets. Theodore Winthrop was a very noted New England novelist who wrote some exceedingly good verse. Unfortunately,



when a very young man he was killed in our late Civil War at the battle of Big Bethel. He gave us a Revolutionary ballad entitled, "Washington at Pennypacker's Mill." It is somewhat of a different tone from the first poem which I read to you, and perhaps you will appreciate it. \* \* \* \* \*

The last poem which I have concerns this region; and in my judgment shows more poetic feeling than all of them. It was written by my brother. Mr. Longfellow thought so well of it that he included it in a volume of poems which he published afterward as poems of places.

Our relations with this region have been to some extent tragic. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Dotterer whom I see here today, and whom, since he has returned from Europe I hope we shall soon have publishing again that excellent periodical,—“The Perkiomen Region,” for this item of information. I know nothing more about it than the fact itself. In the old Goshenhoppen Church, among the records is this: “Born, June 9th, 1771, Susannah, daughter of Wilhelm Pennypacker,—was burned to death when the soldiers left October 3rd, 1777.” It is a fact which is very significant. I have no further knowledge of it, but the fate of this unfortunate little girl, seven years of age, is, in some way wrapped up with the encampment of the army. When we came here to hold our family celebration in 1877, there were many killed and over fifty wounded, by an accident on the railroad, so that as I say to you, our connection with the locality has been both tragic and historic.

*Note*—Unfortunately the stanzas of the poems which Mr. Pennypacker read have in some way been expunged from the address.—Ed.



## CHARLES FRANKLIN RAND, M. D.

By JOHN C. MACNELLIS

The First Man Who Responded to President Lincoln's  
Call for Volunteers, on the Fifteenth of April, 1861

Charles Franklin Rand, M. D., has a unique civil and military history extending even beyond the limits of his native land.

He was born at Batavia, N. Y., January 19, 1839, and began making history when at fifteen years of age he returned from school one Friday afternoon and astonished his mother by declaring that he "would smother" if he did not "get out and see the world," adding that he intended to start on his voyage of discovery on the following Monday.

He started, and in two weeks landed in New Orleans, where he secured a position as river-news reporter on the "New Orleans Picayune." The duties of this position called him from St. Mary's Market to St. Joseph Street, where he inspected the shipping and reported the arrivals and departures of vessels and noted people.

Here he experienced the first serious trouble of his life. One day an American filibustering expedition arrived in New Orleans. It was commanded by that man of destiny, George William Walker, who, with his followers had made war in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, for a time attaining considerable success. They were eventually driven from these countries, whereupon the fleet returned to the Crescent City.

The young reporter was present when the General arrived with his staff, and when they were arrested and placed in the hands of the United States Marshal.

This was an event. The boy anxious to be the first to report the incident (there were no extras in those days) ran to the office of the "Picayune" and wrote on







CHARLES FRANKLIN RAND, M. D.



the bulletin board with chalk in conspicuous characters:

"General Walker, the little-great filibuster, has arrived and is a prisoner at the St. Louis (?) Hotel."

Next morning the local editor Mr. Wilson, received from Walker's Adjutant-General a challenge to meet him on the field of honor, in order to wipe out with blood the great insult to the honor of his chief.

This letter fell into the hands of young Rand who was seized with horror at the result of his reportorial ardor. What was to be done? Should his friend's life pay the forfeit of his blunder? Such would undoubtedly be the outcome, for Col. Thompson, the Adjutant-General, was a noted duelist who had never missed an opponent.

His resolution was quickly taken. Hurrying to the hotel he sought and readily found General Walker, into whose ears he poured out his story, together with most humble apologies for his indiscretion.

Now, the General had not as yet heard anything about the matter. He listened with interest to the lad's outburst, interrupting him, however, as Col. Thompson appeared upon the scene. "There," exclaimed the General, "that is probably the man you want to see."

The Colonel was a man of powerful frame, and as he looked down upon the boy in his roundabout jacket, with cap swinging in his hand, the contrast was striking.

"What do you want?" queried the Colonel in stentorian tones.

The lad repeated his errand, stating that his chief, Mr. Wilson, was totally ignorant of the writing on the bulletin board; that he himself was the author, though no offense was intended, and that the Colonel had challenged an innocent man.

"Then," said the man of terrible deeds, "you confess that you alone are responsible for the insult?"

"Yes, sir, I am," responded Rand afraid even to raise his eyes until he should learn his fate.





The Colonel studied the boy closely. He observed the changing color, and read the fearful thoughts that were surging through his brain. Taking a step nearer and assuming a ferocious attitude, he exclaimed:

"Then, Sir, I shall hold you personally responsible and you will have to fight."

The boy was in agony. He thought of home, of his widowed mother, how she would miss him. He made another desperate attempt at justification but the great man raised his hand and said, "That will do."

The boy's feet grew cold, his head hot. For a moment dead silence pervaded the room, then raising his head he looked his antagonist straight in the eye and said, "Col. Thompson, I know nothing about dueling; I never saw a duel. I know nothing of the use of deadly weapons, but if you will give me twenty-four hours of practice, I will be ready to meet either of you."

Loud laughter greeted his remark. The strong man reached down and seizing him by the hand led him by force into the General's room, where a party of gentlemen were assembled.

"Here," he exclaimed, "here is a gamey little cuss who offers to fight me if I will give him twenty-four hours to practice."

More loud laughter followed, and a flood of questions as to who the lad was and whence he came, to none of which the boy would answer a word. He was too much in earnest to be trifled with, when the Colonel's iron grasp was released, he was set free and he hurried from the room.

The incident was related in the hotels and clubs and served to make the boy popular everywhere. But young Rand never overcame his resentment towards the two officers, and refused their invitations to dine with them or to accept their friendship.

It has been told of Rand that his first impulse on landing in the Crescent City was to see the battle ground where General Jackson fought in 1815. We may easily surmise his feelings then, when the New



Orleans Washington Artillery, whose members had made him their protege after the anecdote above recorded, paid him a signal honor. A sham battle was to be fought on the old battle field where Andrew Jackson won his memorable victory, and the young Northerner was made No. 4 at the gun. This was on the 8th of January, 1861, and of course only blank cartridges were employed. Six months later, however, he stood before the same guns, this time loaded with shot and shell and manned by his old friends.

An instance of the youth's persistence was displayed at the battle of Gains' Mills. He was then scarcely twenty. During the seven days engagement, he was forced to yield up his place in the line when a musket ball passed through his body tearing away his right shoulder and passing through his lung. He was left at Savage Station where his right shoulder joint was removed, with six inches of the bone of his arm. He was among the 2500 sick and wounded left by Gen. McClellan in his retreat and who were captured by Stonewall Jackson and the North Virginia Cavalry who made them prisoners. In time he was exchanged and taken to Philadelphia, and as soon as he was able to travel, was discharged and sent home.

Before his wounds were thoroughly healed, he secured a commission and reported for duty in the field. There he received a blow that was harder to bear than the wounds made by the bullets. No officer would muster him; they treated him with kindness but advised him to go to the hospital until he was well, declaring that he was unfit for field service. In his desperation he returned to Washington, found President Lincoln and told him his story.

After an hour of friendly conversation, the President, who readily estimated the boy's character, led him to believe that he would make some officer muster him. They both laughed at remarks each other made and then the blow fell.

The President told him the officers had done their duty, that he was not able for any more field service.





There was only one response from the crushed spirit of the boy, "My God, Mr. President." He started for the door. Before he reached it, the arm of Mr. Lincoln was around him, and in a voice soft with emotion he said:

"Lieutenant Rand, we need you here in Washington a great deal more than they do at the front. If you will go over to the War Department, in the morning, Mr. Stanton will fix you up."

He was filed and stationed at Washington until the war was over, when he was ordered to Texas, remaining there on duty until the last State was received back into the Union in 1868.

The United States, the most generous on earth, has on several occasions paid this gallant officer tribute, as has his native State, New York.

The records of Congress report that he was the first man who responded when, on the 15th day of April, 1861, the President called for 75,000 men; that he stands volunteer No. 1 in an army consisting of all told, 2,777,304 men who followed his lead, and after four years of war brought peace and prosperity upon the land.

General Mulholland's History of the Medal of Honor Legion, devotes five pages of that historical record of brave men to his military career. A portion of this article is compiled from the above mentioned source.

After his first meeting with President Lincoln they became warm personal friends.

The second time the President commissioned him he sent the promotion by his own special messenger.

Captain Rand was present and saw the assassin as he jumped to the stage after he had murdered the President.

President Grant, who was noted for his reticence, paid him a glowing compliment.

In the capitol at Albany his portrait has been hung, with his history, as the first volunteer of an army of 448,850 men sent by that State to preserve the Union.





Not only in this "land of the free" has the name of Captain Rand been honored, but foreign countries also have given him remarkable evidences of regard. In England, Russia, Germany, and France his valor has received tribute. The Shah of Persia, the Ruler of Egypt, the Viceroy of India, and the President of Mexico have severally honored him.

The Minister of Japan delivered him a present in person, and a souvenir he prizes most highly is the last letter written by England's grand ambassador, Lord Pauncefoot, congratulating Dr. Rand upon the special honor that had recently been conferred on him by Congress.

Another and final evidence of esteem is left for the writer to record. The War Department many years ago selected a large, handsome lot in the heart of Arlington Cemetery and dedicated it to him, whereon will soon be placed a monument lately completed by the "Moyer Marble Works of Norristown" to commemorate his services, and we may consider it an honor to Montgomery County, and a fitting tribute to so brave a soldier that this memorial shaft should be hewn from granite within the shadow of historic Valley Forge.

This paper was prepared and read at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Montgomery County by John C. MacNeillis, reporter of the Daily Register, Norristown, Pa., February 22, 1908.

Headquarters, United States Medal of Honor Club,  
Washington, D. C., 1228 15th St.

January 26, 1908.

Mr. J. C. MacNeillis,  
Sir:—

Your letter of the 22nd received, asking for my birthplace and my age.

I was born in Batavia, New York, Jan. 19th, 1839. Newspapers have been for many years publishing articles in relation to my early services, sometimes the reporters got things somewhat mixed, yet on the whole they have treated me very kindly.

I have received hundreds of honors I do not deserve. My having been the first volunteer in the War of the



Rebellion was all accidental, in fact I did not know it myself until I had been sent home wounded. My having won the first Medal of Honor is no particular credit, for I was so frightened that I could not retreat with the command, I was so afraid they would fill my back full of bullets if I attempted to retreat.

Here is one compliment the Government has paid me of which I am very proud.

The Q. M. Gen. of the Army assigned me lot (one) in Arlington, the first lot as one passes the great gates at Fort Meyer, 20x20, upon which the Holland Purchase Historical Society, of Batavia, N. Y., dedicated a monument now ready for me when I am called. Another kindness of the Government was a bill offered in the Senate one day and passed the next granting me a pension of \$60 per month.

Thanking you for the interest you have taken in my military history,

I am very truly yours,

CHARLES F. RAND, M. D.







REV. EDMUND WELLS, Pottstown, Pa.



## A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE OF JULY 1ST TO 4TH, 1863, AT GETTYSBURG, PENNA.

By EDMUND WELLS <sup>1</sup>

On August 13th, 1862, I enlisted in G. Co., 121st Pa. Vols., Col. Chapman Biddle commanding. Hence about a year's campaign in the Army of the Potomac brought us to Gettysburg, Penn.

Buford's cavalry, 6000 strong, occupied the town on June 30th. Howard's corps, the 11th, and Reynolds's, the 1st, had reached within supporting distance to Buford on the evening of June 30th, and went into camp within sight of the spires of Gettysburg. With a part of our regiment, I was detailed for picket duty near Willoughby's Run, about three miles south-east of the town. We were recalled about four o'clock in the morning and joined the regiment, already on the move. About sunrise a Confederate gun opened the battle. Not being over-burdened with rations, I bought a pound of butter at a farm house, put it in my blackened tin cup, and anticipated what a luxury I'd have, with butter on my hard tack.

The day was dawning as we hurried on, leaving the Round Tops on our right, we advance through fields, for the roads must be kept clear for the artillery. Before we reach Gettysburg our brigade files off to the left of the Emmitsburg road. The Lutheran Seminary stands on an oak-covered ridge about a mile west of the town. Somewhere beyond this ridge our brigade was placed in line of battle. The 11th corps on our right; by the sounds of battle we were heavily engaged. Gen. Reynolds led his 1st and 2nd divisions far out beyond Seminary Ridge. He was impatient to

Note 1.—Rev. Edmund Wells, the writer of this sketch, and a Baptist minister, was born on the "Wells Farm" at Madison Bridge, one mile east of Pottstown, Pa. He served with the Union Army, in the Civil War as corporal in Company G, One Hundred and Twenty-first Regiment, Penna. Vols. Army of the Potomac. Ed.



find the enemy. His courage ignored danger. And here among these old oak trees, a sharp-shooter's bullet ended his life. Our division was on the extreme left, and our regiment the last one on the left of the division. There was an open field in front; huge oak trees, with open spaces, towered above us, with an open field to the left. In this field were two pieces of artillery: perhaps they were to encourage us or discourage retreat. From the woods on our right came a stream of wounded men slowly drifting toward the rear. In our front the firing began. An old worm fence gave us such protection as it could. But it had lots of openings in its structure.

Looking off to the left about a mile away, a whole brigade of Confederates are marching past our left flank. They advance with flags flying as though on parade. The two guns in rear of our line, on seeing so fair a mark, opened fire upon them. They did not pause nor seek shelter, the purpose no doubt was to capture the broken fragments of the Union army when the pressure in front would compel them to give ground. Somewhere a little further on they encountered Buford's cavalry. They had to win the ground they desired.

In our front a great army of men in gray advanced toward our thin line. Sunrise looked down on a mortal combat among the old oaks, and upon fields of wheat ready for the reaper. The booming of cannon; the screaming of shot and shell; the angry rattle of musketry; the shouts of a charging line coming on to victory or defeat, marked the fortunes of the morning and forenoon. The dull blue smoke of battle rose slowly above the tree tops and vanished in the sky.

I do not know the time of day but sometime toward noon, I caught a buckshot in my left cheek. It nearly extracted the back tooth of the upper jaw. I was permitted to go to the rear to get some attention to my wound. On the way I had time to observe the sound of the rifle balls flying overhead. I was thankful that they were far above the heated fields. It seemed like





swarms of bees hunting a place to alight. How all these missiles alighted somewhere without hitting any thing, I never could imagine. My way led me past the buildings of the fair grounds, but no one was on the track exercising his horse, nor in the reserved seats; no cattle were in the fields, nor tied up in the stalls.

After reaching the town I came to a house on whose porch were two wounded soldiers and a hospital steward. A well and windlass promised water to quench my thirst, for after I had marched through the heat of that July day, the pound of butter had reverted to oil, and I poured it out as a libation on the street of the city. My canteen was empty. On inquiry, I found the steward had no bandages. In a little while he said he could fix me up. He had two child's handkerchiefs. Nineteen years later I learned that Emily Weirick, eight years of age then, overheard the need for a bandage, and had gone upstairs to her possessions and brought two handkerchiefs to the steward. With these he tied up my face; and I did not forget to return them when, at last, I identified my benefactor.

What a handsome young lady she was! But she was "engaged," and I had been married eleven years. Alas! who knows what might have been if Providence had not ordered it otherwise?

The sun was declining when the inevitable result came. The Confederates with 55,000 men were more than a match for our 22,000. Only desperate fighting and slow retreating prevented the capture of the two corps. Schimelpfenning's battery, on a bare knoll of "Cemetery Ridge," without support, had been hurling its shot and shell for hours in the face of the advancing line. The fragments of Union regiments and brigades re-formed their line on the left of the battery, and crouched down among the tombs and monuments on "Cemetery Ridge." The streets had been choked with wounded men, ambulances, artillery, and ammunition wagons; most of them had passed on through the town when the Confederates pushed forward a skirmish line into the middle of the city. A great



many Union soldiers were thus cut off and became prisoners. As this line chose the house in which I was tarrying for their advance skirmish post, we found ourselves between two fires: the sharp-shooters on "Cemetery Hill" and the Confederates were soon hotly engaged at long range. We compelled the family to go into the cellar, to avoid danger, and the Confederates ordered us off to the hospital.

The hospitals were two churches,—a Lutheran and a Catholic,—located in the southwestern part of the town. The blue and the grey were here mingled in a strange fraternity of suffering. The pews were all occupied and all the open spaces on the floor were full. There was no homily from the pulpit or altar. Little attention was paid to any one, for the surgeons were few and the wounded many. The men in grey seemed elated; the men in blue depressed: for one more patiently endures suffering with victory than defeat. Night came and silence over all the stricken field. Many died in the passing hours and were buried in the morning.

During the second day the noise of battle drifted up from along the Emmittsburg road. About dusk the Confederates dashed in on the right of our line and seized some works on Culp's Hill but I was at the peaceful occupation of carrying bread to the hospital; and then night again ended the conflict; neither side claimed victory although the advantage was with the Confederates.

On the forenoon of the third day everything in the town was quiet except now and then an aide would dash along through the streets. A few officers came to inquire after some wounded man whose fate they desired to learn. About twelve o'clock a handsomely dressed young officer dismounted in front of the church; his noisy sabre was dangling from his belt; a field-glass was at his side; gloves covered his small hands; spurs jingled with every step; he said to a surgeon, "Longstreet has come up now and gone around to our right; he generally cleans out things wherever





he goes; I'm going up into the belfry to take a look over the field." He went up the stairs with the confidence of victory in his stride and with the noise of his sabre bumping every step; he came down in about ten minutes as quietly as a cat crawling on her prey. A Union sharp-shooter on Cemetery Ridge sent a protest against his observation in the belfry; the bullet knocked a glove out of his hand, severed his sabre belt, and tore a great gash in his uniform beneath; but, strange to say, he escaped further harm and quietly mounted his horse and rode away.

The great cannonade began about one o'clock. More than two hundred guns were hurling their missiles at each other. Many went screaming over the town; but that day the atmosphere did not carry sound afar; no one suspected the magnitude of this artillery duel. Ewell was to charge Culp's Hill when the firing reached its climax; for then Pickett's splendid column was hurled against the Union line on Cemetery Ridge; that gallant charge was made—and lost while he was waiting to hear. Although no one reported the result to the hospitals, something seemed to tell the news. The Confederates sensed it first; many just seemed to cling to life to hear of the success of the campaign. The shattered fragments of the Confederate charge straggled back to Seminary Ridge whence they started; deploys came around the hospitals to secure the cart-ridges of the wounded, and when it was known that the crisis of the day and the campaign had been reached, many died from sheer disappointment whose wounds were not fatal; while the Union soldiers seemed inspired to live, who had not cared to survive defeat.

When night came again I sought a place to sleep. The only spot vacant was under the seats on the floor, about the middle of the church. When I awoke in the morning everything was so still that I could not imagine what had happened. The church was just as full of wounded as ever. The Confederates had retreated in haste from the town in the night; they did



not take many prisoners of the wounded along with them.

About sunrise I looked up toward Cemetery Hill. A long line of blue with the glint of the rising sun upon their arms, and with the stars and stripes fluttering in the morning air on this Natal Day of our Republic, was coming down from Cemetery Ridge right on into the town. Many Confederates wearied with the three days' struggle slept late that morn; some purposely remained behind; but they all fell into line as prisoners. By and by a company of Union soldiers passed in front of the hospital; from within came a faint cheer. The flag had come back! They were free!! A silent despair seemed to take possession of the Confederates; their comrades and physicians had left them to their fate and many of them died. But there was no taunt or insult or indignity shown to a wounded man in grey, for they received better medical aid than had their cause succeeded.

Our flag paused a day over the gory field of Gettysburg. On the morrow it began its advance toward Appomattox.



## MRS. ANNIE WITTENMYER

A Noted Soldier's Aid Matron of the Civil War.

By Her Son.

Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer was the oldest child of John G. and Elizabeth Cathelia Turner, and was born in Sandy Springs, Adams County, Ohio, on the 26th day of August, 1827. She was of a patriotic, stalwart, ancestral stock. Her maternal great-great-grandfather, Simeon Smith, Sr., came from the north of Ireland to this country early in the seventeenth century. Mrs. Wittenmyer was married in 1847 to William Wittenmyer, and in 1850 removed to Keokuk, Iowa, where she took an active part in school and church work.

She was one of the first to help organize a Soldiers Aid Society at Keokuk, of which she was chosen secretary, then she made a trip to the army in April, 1861, to ascertain its needs; and continued until November 25th, 1866. During an extra session of the Iowa legislature in 1862, she was appointed Sanitary Agent for the State of Iowa. In October, 1863, she brought forward the project of a Soldiers' Orphans Home and later it was opened at Farmington, Iowa, but soon became too limited. Mrs. Wittenmyer was elected its president, but refused to serve. By her efforts, through Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, in 1865, she secured the new barracks at Davenport, Iowa, with thirty acres of land joining the corporation, which cost four thousand, six hundred dollars, and six thousand dollars worth of supplies for the Home.

At the close of 1863 she established the special Diet Kitchen system. From these kitchens about a million rations were issued each month. This valuable work continued until the close of the war, and the hospitals were emptied. Mrs. Wittenmyer urged upon the Surgeon-General of the United States the same system





for the Spanish-American war, and he adopted it in part. In November, 1874, Mrs. Wittenmyer was elected the first President of the Woman's Temperance Union, and served five years.

In 1883 the Woman's Relief Corps of the Grand Army was formed. She joined in the work, and in 1889 she was elected National President. In the winter of 1892 she went to Washington, D. C., and, after five months hard work, the bill was carried giving twelve dollars a month pension to all army nurses who could prove title under the law, and succeeded in getting something over six hundred pensions for army nurses.

She moved to Sanatoga, Montgomery County, Pa., in the Fall of 1889, where she lived on a farm, until February 2, 1900, when she died at the age of seventy-two years, four months and six days. She was buried at Edgewood Cemetery, Pottstown, Pa.





PRESENTATION OF BATTLE FLAG OF THE 51ST REG., PA. VOLS.,  
September 17, 1917, in Public Square, Norristown, Pa.





## REPORT OF PRESENTATION OF BATTLE FLAG OF THE 51ST REGIMENT, PENNA. VOLUNTEERS.

By B. PERCY CHAIN, ESQ.

Your corresponding secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones, Chairman of the Program Committee, invited me to give a report of the 51st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers (local regiment) presentation of its old battle flag to your society for perpetual preservation.

I accepted the invitation cordially, because as a matter of historical interest it was my father, Benjamin E. Chain, Esq., who died March 28, 1893, and who, during the war of the Rebellion, as one of a committee, presented the flag to the regiment a few days after the battle of Antietam, Maryland, September 17, 1862, where the regiment covered itself with glory.

The story of the original flag presentation to the regiment, many of whose members were well known in this community, the most of whom either died during the Civil war, or have since died, leaving but few survivors, I now submit:

Following the battle of Antietam, it was found by the fierceness of the conflict in storming and crossing of the bridge there, mid fire and shell of musketry and cannon, that the flags of the troops of the regiment were hopelessly riddled and torn, as they had until then been carried through the campaigns of Roanoke, Newberne, Camden and Chantilly.

The news of the brilliant battle, and the tattered condition of the flags, reached Norristown and aroused the pride of the community; hence a committee of ladies was immediately formed who eagerly sought and readily obtained subscriptions to purchase a stand of colors consisting of the National flag, and one bearing the State arms; the former of which flags is the one now placed with the Historical Society.



A public meeting was called at the County Court House for Thursday evening, September 25, 1862, at which Hon. Daniel M. Smyser, Judge of the County Courts, made a presentation address about the stand of colors, in behalf of the ladies, before an audience which crowded the room to the doors. Benjamin E. Chain received the flags in behalf of the regiment and was chosen by the meeting, together with Messrs. Samuel E. Hartranft and Abraham Markley, as a committee to proceed to Antietum on the following day and present the colors to the regiment on the battle field. The gentlemen composing the committee were the sons of farmers. Mr. Hartranft was the father of John F. Hartranft, the gallant Colonel of the 51st regiment, who subsequently was breveted a Major General of Volunteers and became a Governor of Pennsylvania. Mr. Markley was a well known and popular citizen, who once was the proprietor of the old "Washington Inn," on Main or Egypt street, Norristown, where the present handsome building of the Montgomery Trust Company now stands, and adjoins the property of your Society. Mr. Chain was a lawyer of prominence and ability; an eloquent and forceful speaker with a strong individuality. He was a direct descendant of John Chain, the elder, who, in 1770, purchased from Mary Norris, a tract of 170 acres of land and farmed it. This tract now composes the built-up portion of West Norristown, lying between approximately Stanbridge street and the Stony Creek, and the Schuylkill River and the State Hospital.

The speech Mr. Chain made on the battle field in presenting the flags, as far as I have been able to find among his effects, was not reduced to writing, or to print. I took occasion to look at the then local weekly newspapers issued and found only brief references about the presentation. Newspaper enterprise and stenographic reporting had not reached the present perfection in that field. In the "National Defender," a Norristown weekly newspaper, under date of Tuesday, October 21, 1862, in a letter from a correspondent





at the front, appeared this,—which I quote: “B. E. Chain made a speech. Judging from the silence and fixed attention of the crowd standing around it must have been interesting, but it was delivered in too low a tone for the soldiers all to hear, drawn up into line as they were at the time. It would be read with interest by the regiment, if it should appear in print. Col. Hartranft replied with a few brief remarks, with the same effect.” The flag which is now in your Society’s keeping, was carried through the battles which followed Antietum, and its shredded condition indicates the bitter conflicts it witnessed and passed through.

Fifty-five years have passed away since that then stirring incident to the participants and most all of those good citizens, and soldiers, too, have passed away!

“So the multitude goes, like the flowers or the weed  
“That withers away to let others succeed;

“So the multitude comes, even those we behold,  
“To repeat every tale that has often been told.”

After treasuring this flag for over half a century, the 51st Regiment decided to present it to the Historical Society of Montgomery County for preservation. The regiment held its last annual meeting in this borough on Monday, September 17 (1917) last—the 55th anniversary of the Battle of Antietum. After the transaction of its business, its members visited the rooms of your Society, inscribed their autographs upon your register, and were much impressed with the historic exhibits in your keeping.

About 2 o’clock the surviving members of the Regiment, members of your society and a number of others assembled at the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument in the public square, adjoining your Society’s building. Mr. Harry H. Jago, president of the Regiment association, made the flag presentation address which has been filed with your curator, Miss Fox. Your former president, Mr. Fornance, in the absence and illness of your president, the late Henry W. Kratz, Esq., accepted the custody of the flag, in behalf of your





Society, in a graceful and acceptable manner.

The exercises were conducted under the skies of a beautiful September day, with dignity and simplicity. There was no forensic display; no military array; no bands of music and no fife and drum corps, to attract a crowd, or lend lustre to the presentation. A certain pathos mantled the occasion and suggested to the minds of the by-standers thoughts of that terrible conflict fifty-five years ago, from which few survivors remained, but whose patriotism, with "those long gone and lost awhile," secured to us and all posterity the blessings of a re-united country.

God bless our Country and keep it forever from conflicts and invasions by foreign foes!

## SUPPLEMENT TO FOREGOING ADDRESS

By HENRY H. JAGO <sup>1</sup>

The flags carried by the 51st Regiment through the campaigns of Roanoke, Newberne, Camden, Bull-Run, Chantilly, South Mountain and Antietum, were so bullet ridden and shattered that it was necessary to replace them.

September 26th, 1862, the fair ladies of Norristown presented the 51st Regiment with a new stand of colors through a committee composed of B. E. Chain, S. E. Hartranft and Abram Markley, who delivered them to the regiment September 29th, in camp, near Antietum Iron Furnace, Md.

This flag was carried by the Regiment in the fall and winter of 1862, in Virginia, and through the campaigns of Vicksburg and Jackson, Miss., and Kentucky and East Tennessee in 1863; and in Virginia in 1864 and 1865—from the Wilderness to the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, in 1865.

At the close of the war, the Regiment returned home to Norristown, with this flag. The other flags



belonging to the Regiment have been placed in the State Capital at Harrisburg.

Levi Bolton got possession of this flag and declared—as it was presented to the Regiment by the ladies of Norristown—it should remain here. It has been in Post 11, G. A. R., for a number of years.

At a reunion of the 51st Regiment society held at Harrisburg last year, a resolution was passed to appoint a committee to procure the flag and place it in the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

Presented to the Historical Society of Montgomery County at a reunion this, the 17th day of September, 1917, at Norristown, Pa.

Note 1.—President of the 51st Regt. Penn. Vet. Vol. Society.





## HISTORICAL OUTING TO GERMANTOWN

By EDWIN C. JELLETT

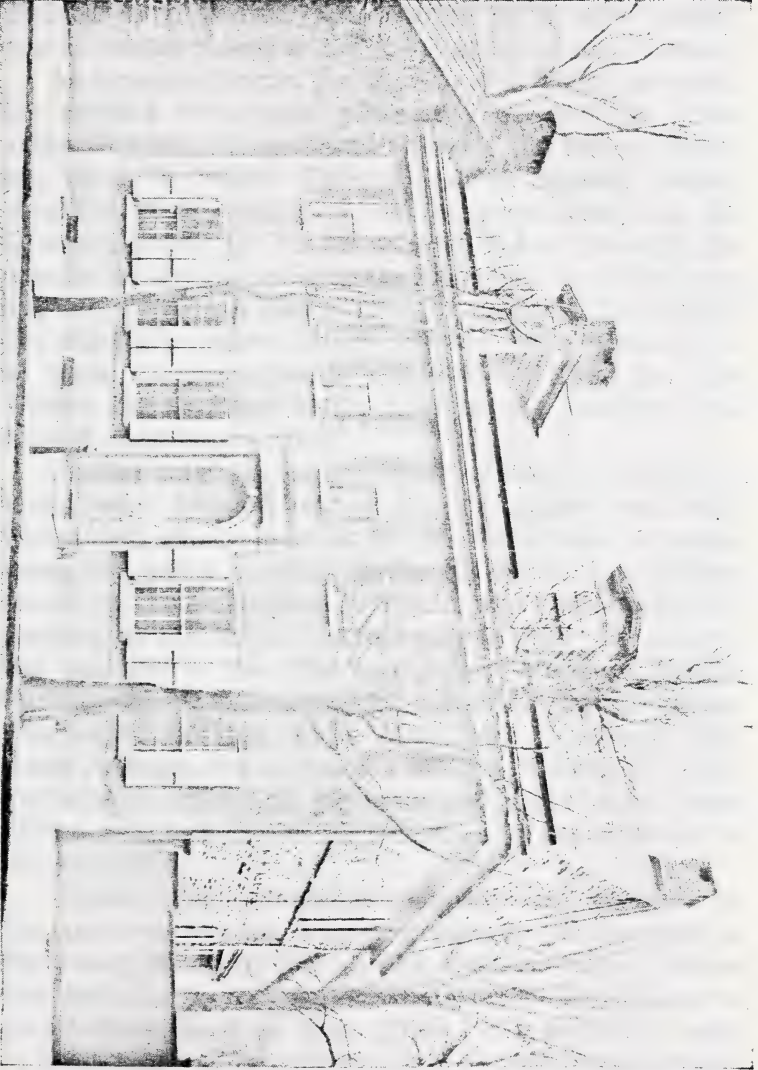
The fall outing of the Historical Society of Montgomery County was a pilgrimage to historical places in and about Germantown and proved a most delightful and successful event. It was participated in by about 150 persons, of whom 125 came from Norristown, where the start was made at nine o'clock in the morning, Philadelphians and others meeting the party at Walnut Lane bridge at ten o'clock and later along the line of the itinerary.

The local committee on reception was composed of Benjamin Bertolet, Edwin C. Jellett, Edward W. Hocker and Dr. Herman Burgin, Mr. Jellett assuming the position of guide and from his familiarity with local places and history proving most efficient and entertaining in that line.

Much interest was shown in the Rittenhouse birthplace by reason of David Rittenhouse's Montgomery county connections and associations and the visitors were most kindly received and shown around by Mrs. Edwards.

From the Rittenhouse property the party proceeded in the buses and private automobiles, in which the trip had been made, through Pelham to the Billmyer house, where scenes of early printing in Germantown were pointed out. From there they went to the Chew house. Unfortunately Mrs. Chew was not able to be present, but the visitors were shown about the grounds, viewed the Washington coach in the stable and inspected the front portion of the house interior. Next the Germantown Academy was visited, where the visitors were most excellently entertained. Dr. William Kershaw, in characteristically genial manner, received the visitors and they were conducted by him and Headmaster Osborne through the ancient building, given a view of





THE WISTER HOUSE, Germantown, Pa.



the original benches used in the school, the old minute book of the institution, while even the Washington telescope, the possession of the Academy, which has remained in treasured preservation in a safe deposit vault, was on view for the delectation of the visitors.

At Grumblethorpe, the famous old Wister mansion, the visitors were most pleasantly received by Alexander Wister, Jr., escorted through the house, shown the room in which General James Agnew, fatally wounded at the battle of Germantown, died, and the figures painted by Major Andre, taken through the wonderful old garden to inspect the pear tree 150 years old and numerous hardy growths, and had the site of the old Christopher Sauer printing office pointed out to them. Grumblethorpe was built in 1744 by John Wister, the ancestor of the host on this occasion, and proved most interesting.

On the way up Germantown avenue places of interest were pointed out in Market Square and elsewhere and at one o'clock by the well-timed arrangement the party arrived at the Y. W. C. A. building, where on the third floor luncheon was served with 124 persons at the tables. After this a visit was paid to the quarters of the Site and Relic Society in Vernon Park, where welcome was extended by President Charles F. Jenkins, while Miss Jane Campbell, Miss Anna Johnson, Dr. I. Pearson Willits, Warren H. Poley and others assisted in receiving and pointing out some of the priceless historical treasures in the museum of the society.

"Wyck," the old Haines mansion and grounds on Germantown avenue, was next visited. On account of the recent death of his mother, Caspar Wistar Haines was not able to be present, but Reuben Haines, also a direct descendant of Hans Milan, who built the house in 1690, received the visitors and piloted them through the place, showing the room of the Lafayette reception and other points of great interest.

The party then repaired to the Mennonite Meeting House, Main street above Hermann, where at 3.15 the





pastor, Rev. J. Wesley Baylay, upon call of Benjamin Bertolet, opened the meeting with prayer. He directed attention to the benches in the rear of the building which were used in Christopher Dock's school, and to the Communion table once owned by Thomas Kunder, and upon which the "Protest against Slavery" was signed.

Joseph Fornance, of Norristown, acting president of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, after a short address called upon E. W. Hocker, third vice president, to conduct the meeting. Mr. Hocker upon taking the chair, made an interesting address, directing attention to the fact that the Mennonites who settled Germantown were not the kind of Germans with which we are now at war.

Dr. Herman Burgin read a paper upon "The Battle of Germantown," which was followed by a paper upon the Mennonites of Germantown, written and read by Dr. J. L. Disney. A resolution reserving a page in the minute book to the memory of Hon. H. W. Kratz was passed and the entire assembly remained in silence for one minute as a token of appreciation of his worth.

Several names, handed to George K. Brecht, secretary, were presented and placed on the membership roll. After a resolution of thanks to all concerned in the outing the meeting adjourned to the grounds, where interesting graves, the site of the proposed marker to William Rittenhouse, the paper-maker and first bishop of the American Mennonite Church, and objects of historic interest were viewed. A committee composed of Mrs. J. W. Bayley, the Misses Bayley, Mrs. Heilig, Miss Umsted, Mrs. J. L. Disney, Mr. Gest and others had decorated the church and the "Welcome" conspicuous upon the front of the venerated building was felt by all who entered it.

About 4.30 the party proceeded to the Dunker Church, where interest was shown in the visit to the graves of Alexander Mack, members of the Keyser and Gorgas families, of Harriet Livermore and others. Thence the party went to the old St. Michael's school,



built in 1740, and also visited the burying ground wherein were interred Christopher Ludwig, the old Continental army baker, and Major James Wither-spoon.

An interesting feature of the meeting, which, indeed, is also an interesting feature of nearly every Germantown meeting, was the presence of direct descendants of Germantown's settlers. In addition to those mentioned as receiving at homes built by their ancestors, there were present at the Mennonite Church, Frank R. Rittenhouse, William Umsted and Miss Anna A. Gorgas, direct descendants of William Rittenhouse, bishop and paper-maker of 1690.





## MONTGOMERY COUNTY AT GETTYSBURG

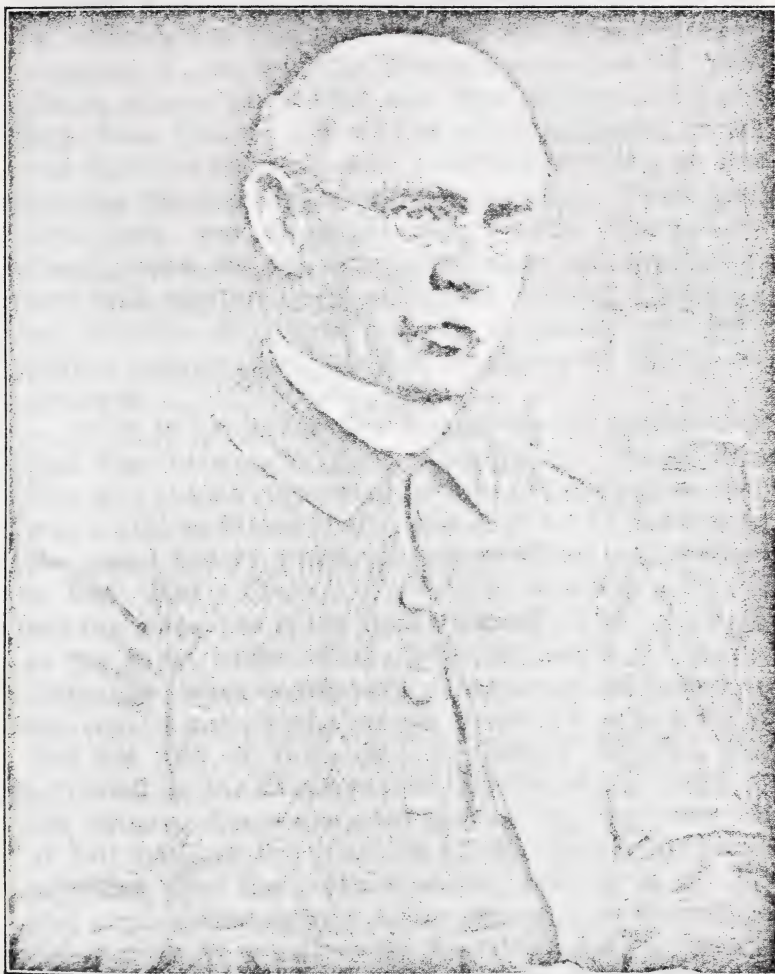
By REV. HENRY MARTYN KIEFFER

To all the goodly company here assembled in the interest of matters pertaining to the history of Montgomery County it must be a matter of regret that the sentiment "Our County at Gettysburg" could not be responded to by the eminent gentleman whose name stands on the programme. For it would have been a happy circumstance indeed if a few words, in honorable mention of the part borne by our County on that ever memorable field, could have been spoken by one whose skillful hand has traced on the canvas a picture of the great battle of the Civil War; a painting which has been so universally admired, and which will live and speak in generations yet to come, as a remarkably graphic portrayal of what no pen can ever describe.

To myself it is a matter of regret that it has fallen to my lot, on very brief notice, to respond in this sentiment, which might well have been assigned to more competent hands. Yet, to such few historical facts concerning "Montgomery County at Gettysburg" as I have been able hastily to glean within a single day, your attention is herewith called.

In common with her sister counties of our grand old Commonwealth, Montgomery contributed her full share of brave and gallant men in those trying days when the fabric of our national existence was tottering in its very foundations. On nearly every battle field of any considerable mention her sons were in some proportion found. We are perhaps justified by the facts in saying that in proportion to her size and population, she yielded the palm to none: while at the same time, apart from all considerations of numbers, she has become famous in the annals of the State, as having contributed, above others, illustrious and gallant





REV. HENRY MARTYN KIEFFER, D. D.



leaders in the war, whose names and deeds will be a glory and an honor to her forever.

But, at the Battle of Gettysburg, so far as our information extends, Montgomery County was, so far as numbers are concerned, but meagerly represented. Company L, of the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry, consisting originally of fifty men from Montgomery and fifty from Chester County (of whose gallantry in action that day we shall make some brief mention by and by) was the only organization on the field. There may have been, and no doubt were, other Montgomery County boys serving with other regiments present at that time, scattered here and there in other commands, but no other men were there as a separate and well defined organization, whether as regiment, battery or company.

As if to atone for this meagerness of numbers on that ever memorable field, Montgomery County was then and there represented by one gallant soldier who was a host in himself, and who contributed largely to the grand victory which there perched on our banners at last—Major General Winfield S. Hancock. This is not the place, nor is the time sufficient to tell the story of the great leader of the boys who wore the clover leaf—how, when courier after courier spurred away to the rear in search of General Meade the afternoon of that hot first of July, 1863, to General Hancock was intrusted by the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac the responsible task of hurrying forward at full speed in the direction of the thundering guns; of riding over the grounds on the evening of the 1st and contributing largely to the decision of the critical question as to whether the battle should be fought there, or elsewhere—how, through all that memorable afternoon and far into the night, with sleepless vigilance, he was busy posting the different commands as they came on the field—how, afterward he was as conspicuous for sagacity in council as for gallantry in action—the story has been told again and again; it is written in hundreds of books, so that “he that runneth





may read," and it is no need we should tell it again. To the honor of Montgomery County it will ever be said, that Winfield S. Hancock, with all that he was and did at Gettysburg, was a Montgomery County man.

In addition to being represented at Gettysburg in the person of so illustrious and able a general as General Hancock, it should also be mentioned that Major General Samuel K. Zook, who was mortally wounded while leading his division of the 2d (Hancock's) Corps, during the fight of the 2d day was also of Montgomery. Although General Zook, after whom our local Post of the G. A. R. has been named, did not directly take service from this County, he was yet a native of Montgomery—his friends and relatives still living in the neighborhood of Port Kennedy to this day. In early life, and while yet quite young, he was a lieutenant in the Chester County Troop. Afterward he was superintendent of the erection of telegraph lines in the south as far as New Orleans. About fifteen years before the war, he went to New York, where for a time he was an officer in the New York militia. On the outbreak of the Rebellion he entered the three months' service as Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th N. Y. Vols. and at the expiration of his term of service received a new commission as Colonel of the 57th N. Y. Vols. He was promoted to Brigadier General at Fredericksburg, and was brevetted Major General after his death. As has been said he commanded a division of the 2d Corps in the second day's fight at Gettysburg, and while gallantly leading his men fell mortally wounded. Seventy-three hours after being wounded and, during the severest fighting of the third day, he died in a house to which he had been removed about two miles from the field.

As every student of the Battle of Gettysburg well knows, it was due to the gallantry of \*Buford's Cavalry and the sacrifice of the First and Eleventh Corps during the first day of the battle, from 9 in the morning, till dusk, that the strong position on Cemetery

\*Brigadier General John S. Buford.



Ridge was secured for the rest of the army, which lay many miles to the rear when the battle commenced. Had Buford's men shown less spirit, or Reynold's men less obstinacy when confronted on the morning of the first by full one half the Confederate Army with the other half in easy supporting distance, the story of the battle might have read quite differently.

But Buford, with his two little brigades of cavalry, numbering not more than 2200 in action, presented a bold and brave front, and for hours held the enemy in check, while the First Corps, with the brave Reynolds at the head of its column, was moving swiftly up to the field at a double quick from four miles away. Buford's men were meanwhile hard pressed by superior numbers. They had no infantry support at the beginning of the fray: and they had but little light artillery—but like the Spartan youth of old who, when he complained that his sword was too short, was told that he should add a step to its length, so Buford's men made up in courage what they lacked in guns and men. And it was here, at this critical juncture, that Montgomery County men, few in number though they were, did a service which may well be remembered to their credit in the annals of the County. For it was needed that the light artillery should be vigorously supported against the assaulting columns of the foe—and for this purpose two companies of the 17th Pa. Cavalry—"E" of Lebanon and "L" of Chester and Montgomery—were detailed. This arduous and dangerous duty they did so well perform as to attract the special attention of General Buford himself, and elicit his praise during the action. Nor did the General forget the bravery of this detachment after the battle was over; but directed that these two companies, which had stood him in such good stead that day, should ever thereafter occupy the honorable place of special escort at his own headquarters. This position they held till the war was ended, when in addition they received the public and formal thanks of the General commanding, when the 17th Pa. Cavalry was mustered out of the





service with four colonels in commission, these being by way of brevet for eminent service.

To those Montgomery County men who were with Buford that day, as well as to any and all who in any capacity or with any command took part in the great battle of the war, be honor and praise if they be living; and if any be dead, we give them equal praise: and say of them as saith the Chronicler of the Crusaders of old—

“Their swords are rust—  
Their bones are dust—  
Their souls are with the saints—we trust!”

Note: Rev. Henry M. Kieffer relates that when a preliminary meeting was called about the year 1878, to organize the Historical Society of Montgomery County—it was held in the ice cream parlor on the second floor of Stiles' candy store, on Main street, directly opposite the post-office in Norristown, and of those living now who were then present besides himself and Mrs. Kieffer, is Mrs. Morgan Wills, widow of Morgan Wills, editor of the Norristown Herald. At one of the meetings, among the speakers named on the program was P. F. Rothermel, the artist who painted the celebrated “Battle of Gettysburg.” He was to have been present on this occasion to make an address and present a steel engraved replica of his famous painting. But a few days before the appointed time, however, he sent the engraving, and a letter saying he “could paint a picture but could never make a speech.” In this emergency, and with but a single day's notice, Dr. Kieffer was summarily drafted by the committee to make the presentation address which Mr. Rothermel was expected to have made and it is very fortunate that we have this excellent article for this series.

Rev. Henry M. Kieffer served in the Civil War as a drummer boy in Co. D, of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Penna. Vols., “The Bucktails,” but more recently he has been serving in the army of peace as pastor of the Church of the Ascension, Norristown, Pa. Ed.





EDMUND CHARLES CLINTON GENET

From Scribners Magazine.

Copyright 1918 by Charles Scribners Sons



## EDMUND CHARLES CLINTON GENET

### The Aviator<sup>1</sup>

By CLARA A. BECK

It has often been said that in his oft-repeated assurance that he "would consider it an honor to die for France," Edmond Genet,<sup>2</sup> whose "War Letters" reveal a charming and brave youth, but "answered the call of blood." There can be no doubt but that his great-great-grandfather, "Citizen" Genet, whose namesake he was, often looked back with longing for his native land; and this much we know, that the family traditions on the paternal side were handed down from father to son with much care, until they fell upon the fruitful soil of Edmond Genet's mind and soul. This fact, however, must not be allowed to obscure the equally important fact, that he had a double line of ancestry whose ideals of patriotism he inherited. At the same time, when one reviews the history of his French ancestry, it seems like a psychological coincidence that he should have gone to France to die for the freedom for which "Citizen" Genet endured exile. It is appropriate to recall the "Citizen's" mission to America.

America, having declared herself free, had failed to secure recognition of her rights from England, and was, therefore, naturally anxious to create a sentiment in her own favor in France. To this end she sent Franklin to the French court, and although at the time

1. From Scribner's Magazine; Copyright 1918 by Charles Scribner's Sons.

2. Edmond Charles Clinton Genet was one of the group of young Americans who early dedicated themselves to the allied cause. He was a descendant of the first ambassador from the French Republic to this country when we were seeking recognition after the Declaration of Independence.

Young Genet served in the U. S. Navy when we were embroiled with Mexico in 1914. On the breaking out of the war by the European powers in that year he joined the Foreign Legion, where, for many months, he rendered distinguished service, and was frequently cited for his bravery and daring—so graphically described in Genet's "War Letters" published by the Scribner's in 1919, and which gives his experiences as one of the original members of that famous aviation corps—the Lafayette Esca-





France was more than willing to give assistance in the way of men, money and army supplies, such as heavy guns, tents, and clothing for thirty thousand men; it was not until the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached Paris that France formally acknowledged the independence of the United States. It then became a matter of national policy for her to enter into a secret treaty, a compact of friendship and alliance, with the United States, to "be made public only in case England should declare war against France." This treaty was put into the national archives awaiting the course of national events. In the meantime France, torn by internal dissension, had successively come under the rule of the Assembly, the Girondists, and the Mountain or Red Republicans, leading up to the assassination of the King, and the establishment of a republic under Danton, Robespierre, and Marat.

At this point the Genet history in America begins, and around this "secret treaty" it revolves. In 1793 the new French Republic sent its first minister to the United States; his name was Edmond Charles Genet, and his title "Citizen," owing to the fact that all titles had been abolished in France. This young man, then but twenty-eight years old, had already acquired, owing to his bravery and skill, the rank of captain of dragoons; further owing to his gifts as a linguist, he had held various important offices; he had been attached to the Bureau of Interpreters, the French Embassies at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and in 1781 succeeded his father as chief of the Bureau of Correspondence in the Department of Foreign Affairs. In 1792 he was sent as Ambassador to Holland, and from there transferred, in 1793, as Minister Plenipo-

drille. He was barely twenty-one when killed in the air by the Germans—the first American to fall in aerial battle after the declaration of war.

A collection of articles in the outfit of the aviator Genet was loaned to the Historical Society of Montgomery County by Mrs. Albert R. Genet, his mother. It comprised his uniform, flying equipment,—and particularly a miniature flying machine which young Genet constructed in boyhood; comfort kit, identification tag; a watch, coin and papers and other personal belongings. In April, 1923, this collection was removed and placed in the Valley Forge Museum, which is perhaps a more fitting depository, inasmuch as his ancestor—"Citizen" Genet—came over from France in consequence of the fortunate turn in our affairs after the crisis period at Valley Forge made it possible. Ed.



tentiary to the United States. His mission was to induce the United States to declare war against England. When he arrived he was most enthusiastically received, and his journey overland from Charleston—where he landed—to Philadelphia, was one unbroken ovation; outriders met him as he approached the city, and hailed him as a true "Son of Liberty." Banquets were held in his honor, and on one of these occasions, in Philadelphia, it is related that the head of a roast pig, severed from the body and named "Louis XVI," was passed from guest to guest, and as each one received it he plunged his knife viciously into it, uttering some sentiment regarding liberty and the rights of men. Indeed, people were so infatuated with "Citizen" Genet, that the French craze took complete possession of them, and they wore "cockades," erected "liberty poles," addressed each other as "citizeness" or "citizen," went to the extent of using these titles in letters, on business documents, marriage certificates, and even had them engraved on tombstones. Was it any wonder then, that with so much sentiment in his favor, "Citizen" Genet should have expected the United States to keep the pledge made in the "Treaty of 1778"?

In President Washington's Cabinet were two men of the most diverse minds regarding the management of national affairs. One was Hamilton, who believed in the rule of "the iron hand," and headed the English party; and the other was Jefferson, who believed in the people's capacity for self-government, and stood by the French party.

After bitter controversy on the subject, President Washington, feeling that the United States, having just established her claim to a republican form of government, could not afford to become involved in the wars of the European nations, contended that the "treaty" had been made with the King, and not with the French Republic, and therefore was no longer binding, and on the strength of this argument he issued his famous "Proclamation of Neutrality." Naturally, "Citizen" Genet, anxious for the preservation of the French Re-





public, pronounced our government "weak and timid," and led on by many American sympathizers, and sustained by the Anti-Federal party, threatened to appeal to "the people." Having been vested with full power by the French Government, he at once acted on his own interpretation of the "Treaty of 1778," and had eight privateers commissioned, and with the assistance of two French frigates, captured fifty British merchantmen. This enterprise might have been allowed to continue had it not happened that, unfortunately, some of these vessels had been taken within the jurisdiction of the United States, and our position as "neutrals" then made it necessary for President Washington to ask the French Government to recall Genet, which was done, and he was succeeded by M. Fauchet.

Although formally recalled, "Citizen" Genet never returned to France, for the reason that "The Reign of Terror" had been inaugurated, and many Girondists, of which party he was a member, had been imprisoned or led to the guillotine.

When one considers the political intrigues which centred about "affairs of state," it is only fair to admit that Genet displayed a most admirable spirit, for, yielding with the grace of a gentleman, he at once retired from the field of conflict, and being of a liberty-loving nature swore allegiance to the United States, married the daughter of Governor George Clinton, of New York, went into private life, and is said to have been an ornament to society.

"Citizen" Genet had four sons and two daughters, and the third son, William Rivers Genet, married a Miss Taylor, of Philadelphia, and from this line the aviator, Edmond Charles Clinton Genet, was descended. He was the youngest of three sons of the late Albert Rivers Genet and Martha Fox Genet, and was born at Ossining, N. Y., on November 9, 1896, and died at Ham, France, on April 16, 1917, in his twenty-first year.

Military service appealed to this family of boys, for the eldest, Ensign Albert River Genet, is in service with



the United States Navy, while the second son, First Lieutenant Gilbert Rodman Fox Genet, is stationed at Camp Jackson, S. C.

Genet's mother is descended from a long line of eminent jurists, educators, and patriots. Her father, Gilbert Rodman Fox, was a member of the bar of Bucks and Montgomery Counties, in Pennsylvania, and for years filled the office of clerk of the court for the eastern district of Pennsylvania. His father, John Fox, was president judge of the judicial district of Bucks and Montgomery Counties and a major in the War of 1812.

John Fox's father, Edward Fox, came from Dublin, Ireland, about 1774, was the son of an officer in the British army, and during the Revolution was an aggressive member of the Council of Safety, was recorder of deeds for Philadelphia from 1799 to 1802, and secretary and treasurer of the University of Pennsylvania from 1791 to 1822.

Thus it will be seen that Edmond's mother's ancestry had a reputation for loyalty sufficient to have transmitted to its descendants a spirit of justice and patriotism.

The facts about Edmond Genet's brief life were summarized, with some of his letters, in *Scribner's Magazine* for May, 1917. It will be recalled that he was the first American aviator to die under the Stars and Stripes in France. When only sixteen he served on the U. S. S. *Georgia* during the Vera Cruz expedition, then as apprentice seaman in the United States Navy, next as a private in the Foreign Legion in France, from May, 1915, to May, 1916, and last as a pilot in the Lafayette Escadrille.

With the Foreign Legion he saw active service in the French trenches, and when the battle of Champagne was fought went to the very front with his company. On this occasion the Germans, noticing their uniforms—blue coats, red trousers, and yellow sashes—shouted, "We know who you are, Foreign Legion; come on, and we will wipe you out," and this threat





was no idle one, for when the battle was over but thirty-five men of this company were left, Edmond Genet being one of them.

When King George reviewed the troops after the battle, Genet carried the colors as they passed before him, and for their bravery these men were decorated with "a cord of honor"—red and green in color—which was fastened to a buttonhole in the coats of their uniforms, and carried from there across the right shoulder.

Genet was transferred to the aviation service in June of 1916. The following November he was made a pilot aviator, and in December went to the front over Verdun.

His name will be inseparably connected with that of his flying mate, Sergeant James R. McConnell, who fell while flying over the German line just three weeks before Genet's death. Concerning this event, Edmond Genet wrote home, saying: "We found his body in a field at the edge of the village of Petit Detriot, his machine completely smashed; not being able to land, we landed some distance away and motored to the spot, and found Mac's body terribly mangled, his papers and identification mark gone, the Germans having stripped him of everything, even to the boots. I will try and land there tomorrow when they bury him, to see that his grave is properly and decently marked; I would give up twenty citations, and suffer twenty wounds to have McConnell back again."

Less than a month later, and just ten days after the United States had declared war against Germany, Edmond Genet gave his life in the cause of freedom and humanity. He was so happy to have had "the Stars and Stripes" to place with the French flag when he started out on his mission that morning. This mission was to carry President Wilson's war message over the German lines. Hundreds of thousands of these had been printed in the Paris office of the New York Herald, and sent to the aviation stations from St. Quentin to the Swiss frontier for distribution. They were in the form of pamphlets, with the American flag





at the top in red, white and blue, and the packets were so carefully arranged that they burst open when dropped, and the leaflets were scattered far and wide over the German trenches, the cities, and even over the Rhine and inland.

He returned safe and happy from this mission, but in the early evening there was a "sortie," the worst air battle that had yet taken place, and just as Genet was starting across the German lines a shell burst under him, shattering the left wing of his machine. He was seen making an heroic effort to guide his machine within his own lines, and just over Ham the crippled wing snapped off, and the machine made a drop of several thousand feet.

The village of Ham where he fell was then just inside the French lines, and about seventy miles north-east of Paris, but was recaptured by the Germans in the great drive in March. Genet was carried into a hospice close by, and buried from there the following day, with military honors. His casket was placed on a "caisson" attached to which were five horses led by five picked soldiers, and attended by a body-guard from the Aviation Corps. The French flag and "the Stars and Stripes" intertwined draped his casket, and the War Cross awarded for bravery rested on them. The United States Embassy sent a representative from Paris to be in attendance. Captain Smith of the United States Navy and Captain Thenault of the Lafayette Flying Corps made addresses, while the French army chaplain conducted the services.

Genet lies in the shadow of what was once the princely estate of the Marquis de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza.

Everywhere tribute has been paid to this splendid young man. From the French Government came citations lauding his devotion to duty and his bravery of spirit. Captain Thenault's words are a loving farewell:

"He was our Benjamin, beloved of all, our only reproach against him being his reckless daring. He would have done great things had he lived."



## FORT WASHINGTON AND THE ENCAMPMENT AT WHITEMARSH<sup>1</sup>

By RICHARD M. CADWALLADER

You have come to the scene of the encampment at White Marsh and Fort Washington. Let me remind you however that unlike other expeditions, you are on this occasion, on hallowed ground, literally surrounded by localities closely identified with the active events of the War of the Revolution.

Along here marched the militia, under General Potter, to Militia Hill, and along this Skippack road, through these fields, the militia were supposed to be on guard at the time of the attempt to capture Lafayette at Barren Hill, just beyond the wood on the right. Directly in front is St. Thomas' Church, occupied by both armies, and where General Wayne rallied the troops after the battle of Germantown.

In the rear is Edge Hill, the scene of a fierce fight at the time of Howe's threatened attack on Fort Washington. To the left is Fort Washington, where a part of the army encamped, defended by a redoubt that can still be seen. Behind, higher up, is Camp Hill where the main army was stationed. Lower down in the valley is George Emlen's house, Washington's headquarters. In the rear are the Limekiln Pike and York road along which the troops marched. Further to the left is Hatboro, then known as "Crooked Billett," from the sign of a tavern, where some 800 British troops attacked Gen. Lacey sent out by General Washington while at Valley Forge, to stop marauding.

Then further along is the Bethlehem Pike, the road to Bethlehem and Easton, and near by the Three Tuns Tavern where Washington is said to have dined with his officers, on the march to Valley Forge. The de-

1. Courtesy of the Philadelphia Chapter, Sons of the Revolution.





scendants of the host to this day, celebrate the event by a dinner each year. Still further in the circle is the Foulke Mansion, made famous by Miss Sallie Wister's letter, relating that the young ladies were obliged to flirt with the officers of both armies; then the Drayton farm where some 10,000 men encamped at the time of the headquarters at the Morris house immediately adjoining. Here the court martial sat at the request of Gen. Wayne, and a council of war discussed an attack on Germantown. Continuing thus on, the Skippack Creek, Matson's Ford, Swedes Ford, Plymouth and Barren Hill, completing the circle.

It is therefore not only with pleasure, but with some pride that I welcome you to the White Marsh Valley. How it ever obtained that name was for a time seriously discussed. At first, White Marsh was called Farmerstown from Major Jasper Farmer, the first settler. Some say the name came from the white sand oozing from the ground. Rev. Mr. Millet, a former Rector of St. Thomas' Church, contended it was from a parish in England, but the parish has never been found, though the name appears in Virginia and North Carolina. Enthusiastic followers of Pastorius, who settled Germantown, claimed the name from "Whit mar sun" in Friesland, Holland.

It is finally settled that the name came from the wide marsh along the Wissahickon, which, as the local historians are fond of saying, developed into the beautiful name of "White Marsh." (In 1713 the Germans on the Skippack petitioned that a road be opened from Pennypacker's Mills to the *wide marsh* at Farmer's Mill.)

Among numerous others, there are two Fort Washingtons of importance; the one on the Hudson erected by Col. Rufus Putnam, just above New York, to command the river, guard the stores at Peekskill and prevent reinforcements to Canada, and this fort almost in front, to the left of St. Thomas' Church.

I propose to make a brief address from Fort Washington on the Hudson to Fort Washington in the White



Marsh Valley. The capture of Fort Washington on the Hudson was one of the worst blows of the whole war, and had the effect of changing the plans of both armies, resulting in the march to Philadelphia and the encampment at White Marsh. The campaign from the Hudson was one continuous campaign to Fort Washington here, ending with the retreat to Valley Forge. It also embraces the most critical period of Washington's military life, for he was never able to assert himself until the winter at Valley Forge. It is of special importance to us, because nearly all the troops were Pennsylvania regiments under Colonel Magaw. They were among the best in the service and well officered.

You will remember that soon after Washington took command at Cambridge, he hastened to the troops investing Howe at Boston after the battle at Bunker Hill. The Americans succeeded in fortifying Dorchester Heights, thus commanding the town. Howe evacuated Boston, and set sail for Halifax, as if to aid against Canada, but really to await reinforcements from his brother Admiral Howe.

Washington conceived that he would make for New York to attack the center of men and supplies.

The American army withdrew to Long Island, and fortified the Heights of Brooklyn, to command New York. Howe returned, landing some 25,000 men at Staten Island. The Americans, 17,000 men, were outgeneraled and surrounded, although the fighting was fierce. In the midst of a dense fog, Washington withdrew his army, effecting a masterly retreat to New York, thence to White Plains where he awaited Howe's army, in a fortified camp.

There was some criticism against Washington for the battle of Long Island, but the Declaration of Independence had but a few days before been declared, and Howe's reinforcements from Europe were a surprise. Washington established himself at White Plains, foiling Howe's attempt to get in his rear, fortified his position, expecting an attack. Howe followed. Military critics say that Howe could have destroyed the





American army and should have attacked. Letters from officers confirm this: at least a hostile, well-disciplined army confronted the Americans who were depressed and discouraged. For some reason General Howe hesitated, probably hoping that he could still make terms, but it soon developed that he intended to take Fort Washington by assault.

Fort Washington with Fort Constitution on the opposite side, and Fort Lee further towards Peekskill, with various contrivances blocked the Hudson River. It was supposed that it was a very strong position. The Pennsylvania Regiments under Cadwalader, Magaw and parts of Miles' and Atlee's battalions comprised nearly the entire garrison, and were stretched out some two miles. Magaw was in command. Howe's vessels succeeded in passing up the river. Washington saw it was hopeless to remain, as his experience in the French and Indian War in Virginia had taught the danger of a chain of forts with a weak force; he protested but was unheeded with the fatal result. The same thing happened here; Congress insisted Fort Washington should be held. Washington had gone to West Point to arrange a fortified position there, intending to evacuate. Magaw was confident and Washington had yielded to Greene who was in command on the spot. Greene in the meantime had thrown in about 1,000 men, making the total about 3,000. By a vastly superior force, the Americans were driven from the field to the fort. It was so small, and became so crowded they were unable to move and defend themselves; surrender followed. Lord Howe returned some 2,800 men and officers besides a great deal of artillery. There was no such loss during the War. The number of prisoners was so great that some were never exchanged.

Discovering a letter from Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, who commanded his Regiment in the Fort, to Col. Timothy Pickering, I give you its substance:





"Trenton, May 1822.

Dear Sir,

I recd your letter of the 15th inst. and thank you for the information it contains.

It is now more than Forty five years since the Affair of Fort Washington, and though it can scarcely be expected I should be able, after so long an interval, to afford you a full Narrative of all the Incidents that occur'd on the Day of the Attack, yet I have it in my power, in some Measure, to satisfy your inquiries. I shall however avail myself, in performing this Task, and to save Trouble, of a statement of this Nature, wh I made in the year 1811, at the Request of a Friend of mine, formerly a Captain in the 3d Pennsylvania Battalion wh I commanded in the War of the Revolution, who was writing a book entitled "Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania within the last Sixty years," (Graydon?) in which he mentions the Attack on Fort Washington, and our Posts, on the Island of New York.

My Statement commences on page 175 of that Work, and ends in page 180, with my Arrival at the Fort; exclusively of which I furnished not a single Sentence published in the Book. I however recommend to your notice, a Paragraph of the Author, in his Book pages 188, 189, in which he gives the following extract from Genl Washington's Letter to Congress.

"I sent a billet to Col. Magaw directing him to hold out, and I would endeavor in the Evening to bring off the Garrison, if the Fortress could not be maintained, as I did not expect it could, the Enemy being possessed of the adjacent Ground." When I arrived at the Fort, I found the British had succeeded, in their several Attacks, and were in possession of all the Ground, except that in which the Fort stood. That they should have been possessed of all the adjacent Ground with the Force they employed, could not well be wondered at, when it is known,

1st That the Post on the Rear of Mount Washing-



ton was attacked by 3000 Hessians, against Col Rawlin's single Regiment of Riflemen.

2d That the Post at the Point of Haarlem River, opposite to Fort Washington, was assailed by the British Guards & Light Infantry, and defended by a raw Regiment of Militia.

3d. That at Roger Morris's House not a Man was posted for Defence, and when Six or Seven Hundred Highlanders approached the Shore, the only opposition they encountered was by the Detachment of about 150 Men from the lower Line wh they could not well spare.

4th. That the attack on the lower Line, extending across the Island of New York, was by 1600 British Troops against 650 Men; the Number of Men left after the Detachment of 150 Men was sent to Roger Morris's House.

The Lower Line required 3000 Men for an efficient Defence. The Assailants in the whole, were estimated at 7000, supported by the British Army.

The Fort and the extent of the Ground, including the Flanks on the Haarlem and North Rivers, required at least 8000 men. The Fort I always considered as an open Field Fort—constructed of earth, without Casemates or even Shelter—the Cannon Iron six Pounds) without any qualification or Character, which could possibly be construed into a Fortress capable of standing a Siege, against a regular Army, furnished with Artillery.

Before I left the Fort, many weeks previous to the Attack, to take charge of the lower Line and the adjacent Ground, I had a Conversation with the commanding Officer on the Island, in which I most forcibly inculcated the necessity of instantly attending to the full Supply of Water, Ammunition and Provisions and everything requisite for the Defence of the Fort, and also proposed to him to form a Work which I conceived would be of great importance in flanking the Enemy should they attempt to ascend the Hill in Rear of Mount Washington—the Spot they actually selected for the Attack; all of which he cordially approved.





General Washington's idea of the Incompetency of the Fort to make a serious Defence, is efficiently evinced in his Billet to Col. Magaw; and I may add the Sentiment entertained by Genl Lee, who in a Conversation he had with me, reprobated the Measure of keeping the Garrison on New York Island; and said when he recd the Intelligence of the unfortunate event, he was so excited, that he tore the Hair out of his Head.

I have thus, with Candour and Impartiality given you the best Information in my Power, and if the Facts I have disclosed should bear hard upon the Advisers and Abbettors, of the fatal Measure of keeping the Troops on the Island, after General Washington had crossed to the West side of the North River, and whilst General Howe was marching his Army down to King's Bridge, I would not take a Feather from the weight which must fall on their heads, however dignified, or however high they may have ranked in the Army.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Few remain who can look so far back as we can, and upon Scenes more important to our Country.

With great Regard & Esteem

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your Obedt Servt

Lamb<sup>t</sup> Cadwalader.

Col. Timothy Pickering."

Now the point I wish to make is this, the capture of Fort Washington on the Hudson changed the whole campaign of both armies, and led to movements resulting in the encampment at White Marsh after the Battle of Germantown. From the Hudson to Fort Washington was one continuous campaign, ending with the retreat to Valley Forge.

Washington immediately retreated to the Jerseys, throwing a body of troops between the enemy and the Delaware, to protect Philadelphia. He cautioned Gen. Charles Lee to be on the alert, but Lee thought he could take care of himself, exclaiming, "Oh! General, how could you be persuaded by those whose judgment was inferior to your own?" This was the first echo of what



afterwards became the "Conway Cabal," for Lee and Gates thought Washington's star was waning, and Col. Reed, of Washington's staff, writes to Lee: "We are in an awful and alarming situation. I think yourself or some one should go to Congress and form plans of a new army." The correspondence between Washington and Lee, and Lee and Gates is one of the extraordinary occurrences of the whole War.

Lee disagreed with Washington as to the designs of the enemy against Philadelphia, and meditated an attack in the rear which he thought would redound to his own reputation. He replies to Reed that as soon as he carried out his own views, he would fly to the aid of the Commander-in-chief, as he really thought the Commander-in-chief could do better with him than without him.

Washington had been closely followed by the enemy and lingered at Brunswick in the hope of reinforcements. His men were dispirited by their misfortunes, and the loss of baggage. Gen. Heath, who had been ordered forward and was withheld by Lee, writes that "Gen. Lee's conduct is so extraordinary that one is at a loss to account for it." Lee still delaying, Washington writes, "Do come on! Your arrival may be the means of preserving a city whose loss must prove of the most fatal consequence to the cause of America."

Putnam was detached to take command of Philadelphia and put it in a state of defense. Congress adjourned to Baltimore. Washington had then about 5,000 men; 1,000 N. J. Militia, 1,500 Militia from Philadelphia and 500 German Yeomanry from Pennsylvania. Gates, however, he was informed, could come with seven Regiments, and these, with the troops from Lee, would enable him to strike a blow. Lee then at Morristown, with 4,000 men, writes to Washington, "I cannot persuade myself that Philadelphia is the object at present. Cannot I do more service by attacking their rear?"

Washington replies, "Philadelphia, beyond all question, is the object of the enemy's movements, and noth-





ing less than our utmost exertions will prevent Gen. Howe from possessing it. The force I have is weak and utterly incompetent. I must therefore entreat you to push on with every possible succor you can bring." Lee heard that Gates had arrived at Peekskill, and writes to Heath to forward three Regiments to Morristown, adding, "I am in hopes of recapturing the province. It was really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival."

On the 11th of December he writes to Washington he should march to the ferry above Burlington. Washington replies, "I am surprised that you should be in doubt as to which route to take. I have so frequently mentioned our situation and the necessity of your aid, that it is painful to me to add a word on the subject. Congress has directed that Philadelphia be defended to the last extremity. The fatal consequences that must attend its loss are but too obvious to everyone. Your arrival may be the means of saving it."

Lee finally decamped from Morristown, but marched only about 8 miles to a small town. Leaving General Sullivan in command of the troops, he took up his quarters at a tavern at Baskenridge some miles distant. As the British were 20 miles away he took only a small guard. He had ordered General Sullivan to march to Pluckamin, off the route he was ordered to take, indicating an attack on the British at Brunswick. He writes to Gates, "The ingenious manoeuvre of Fort Washington has completely unhinged the goodly fabric we have been building. There never was so damned a stroke; entre nous! a certain great man is damnably deficient! He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties. If I stay in this province I risk myself and army, if I do not stay, the province is lost forever. As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the General, by all means go. You will at least save your army." Almost at that moment, Colonel Harcourt and his dragoons appeared before the house, and very fortunately General Lee was captured, placed on a horse





bare-headed, in slippers and blanket coat, and carried to Brunswick.

General Sullivan, assuming command, changed his route and joined Washington. The British supposed they had captured the most scientific of the American generals, who had neglected the first principle of war, "Keep a united army."

Severe words were spoken against Gen. Lee and serious accusation made, somewhat modified by the harsh treatment he ingeniously complained of. Washington writes, "This is an additional misfortune, and the most vexatious as it was from his own folly and imprudence." Washington had previously expressed faith in Lee, but added, "He is fickle, capricious and ambitious."

A party seems about this time to have sprung up in Congress for the purpose of superseding Washington. If Lee had succeeded in his schemes he would probably have been made Commander-in-chief.

An intercepted letter convinced Washington that Howe was only waiting for the River to freeze to commence active operations. Being reinforced by Sullivan and Gates, Washington determined on the aggressive. He offered a command to Gates to cooperate from Bristol, but Gates declined and set out for Philadelphia. He was urged to confer with Colonel Reed and General John Cadwalader at Bristol. This he seems to have avoided, and told Wilkinson, one of his staff, that he should suggest to Congress that instead of attempting to stop Howe at the Delaware, we ought to retire to the South of the Susquehanna and form a new army there. In spite of all these complications, however, Washington on that Christmas night crossed the Delaware with about 2,400 men and won the Battle of Trenton, taking 1,000 prisoners, of whom 32 were officers. The other divisions not joining, his position was extremely hazardous, so he recrossed the river. The time of many men was about to expire. This was the turning point of the Revolution. The men were persuaded to serve six months longer, but there was no money. Washington writes to Robert Morris: "If



you could possibly collect £100 or £150 it would be of service." Morris was at his wits end, but finally a wealthy Quaker loaned the money. Just think of it! \$750! Fiske says \$50,000 were sent.

The ice impeded crossing, thus enabling Howe to concentrate his forces at Princeton. Cornwallis, who had obtained leave of absence was hastily recalled. He assumed command and entered Trenton. The two hostile armies encamped on the two sides of the Assanpink Creek. Cornwallis was urged to attack that night, but feeling sure of the game, said he would "bag the fox in the morning." Leaving his fires burning, Washington slipped away in the night. Cornwallis was completely outgeneralled, for Washington pushed on for the British stores at Brunswick. Meeting a force of the enemy, possibly two regiments, he was delayed to fight the battle of Princeton. Cornwallis followed; thus began the race to Brunswick.

To General Putnam at Philadelphia, Washington writes: "I am in hopes of driving the enemy from the Jerseys."

To General Heath, at the Highlands, he writes: "The enemy are in great confusion," and directs him to move towards New York while he followed to Morristown.

In the meantime Cornwallis collected his troops at Brunswick and Amboy, to have communication by water with New York, presenting, as Hamilton said, the extraordinary spectacle of a powerful army straitened within narrow limits, and never permitted to transgress those limits with impunity. It was a triumphant close to the most critical period of the war, as Irving says, gaining for Washington from statesmen and generals in Europe, the name of the American Fabius. Cornwallis, at the surrender of Yorktown, expressing his admiration, said: "After all, your Excellency's operations in New Jersey were such that nothing could surpass them."

The British officers write that the rebels were fleeing in confusion, but Thomas Paine, who had accom-





panied the army, says: "With a handful of men we continued an orderly retreat four hundred miles, saving baggage, ammunition, field pieces, stores and crossing four rivers. None can say that our retreat was precipitate for we were three weeks in performing it, that the country might have time to come in. Twice we marched back to meet the enemy."

Howe was in winter quarters in New York; his troops loosely cantoned about the Jerseys from the Delaware to New Brunswick.

The British generals had been outgeneraled, defeated and held in check by Washington, encamped on the Heights of Morristown. Various strategic movements took place without particular change in position. Elias Boudinot tells of the spy who had been sent by Howe to Washington's headquarters. Being deceived by false returns he reported to Howe who decided it would be imprudent to attack. ("Life and Letters of Elias Boudinot.")

There was still fear that Howe might ascend the Hudson and join Burgoyne, as he should have done, or make an attack upon New England in accordance with his original plan, yet the fitting out of the fleet looked like an attack on Philadelphia. Finally when the fleet was seen in the capes of the Delaware, Washington marched to Germantown by this York road, camping at Neshaminy Falls near Hartsville.

Fiske, in his *American Revolution*, page 307, says: Howe's expedition by sea was in consequence of General Lee's advice. This proved his ruin, as his instructions were to get back in time to aid Burgoyne. Fiske also adds that eighty years after the war a paper was found, date March 29th, 1777, marked "Mr. Lee's plan" thus proving that Lee's subsequent behavior on the field on Monmouth was rank treason.

Spending some days at Stenton, the Logan family homestead, after conference at Philadelphia, Washington hastened to Chester. In the meantime precaution was taken to defend the approaches by the river. Some supposed that Charleston would be the objective point,



and at a council of war it was proposed to march toward the Hudson and attack New York, as it could hardly be believed that Howe would desert Burgoyne. As there was much disaffection at Philadelphia, Washington marched his army through the city to Front and Walnut streets, making all the display possible, continuing on to Wilmington at the confluence of Christiana Creek and the Brandywine, where he set up his headquarters.

Howe finally landed at the head of Elk on Chesapeake Bay, seventy miles from Philadelphia, hoping to find friends in the lower counties.

The divisions of Generals Greene and Stephens were ordered from Wilmington. Sullivan arrived with 3,000 men. Washington had made up his mind to a battle in the open field. He had about 15,000 men, only 11,000 of whom were effective. The British had 18,000, but only 15,000 in action. Cornwallis gained the rear and Sullivan was ordered to oppose him, while Wayne kept Knyphausen at bay at the Ford. Sullivan was forced to give way. Knyphausen tried to force his way across the Ford. Wayne, and Proctor's artillery opposed him. Greene was summoned to support the right wing. The British were victorious and we were driven from the field. Wayne retired to the Chester Road. The Commander-in-chief arriving with Greene, the whole army took position behind Chester for the night. The scene of this battle deciding the fate of Philadelphia was 28 miles from Philadelphia. Congress fled to Lancaster and afterward to Yorktown. Howe did not push the pursuit. Lafayette says had he done so and marched directly to Darby, the American army would have been destroyed.

Washington taking advantage of Howe's inactivity, passed through Darby on the 12th, across the Schuylkill to Germantown within a short distance of Philadelphia, encamping at Hill's house near the present Queen Lane reservoir. Leaving Armstrong with some Pennsylvania militia to guard Philadelphia, he recrossed the Schuylkill and advanced toward the Lan-





caster road with the intention of turning Howe's left flank. Howe made a similar disposition to outflank him. The two armies came in sight of each other at the Warren Tavern, 23 miles from Philadelphia, but were prevented by a violent storm from engaging. Through the rain and mire, they marched to Yellow Springs and thence to Warwick Furnace. Detaching Wayne to get in the rear, in touch with General Smallwood of the Maryland Militia, and watch for Howe's baggage and hospital trains, Washington crossed at Parker's Ford and took possession. Wayne got to Tredyffrin near Paoli and urged Washington to come on to attack. But the country being full of disaffected persons, Howe received information and detached General Gray to surprise Wayne. Wayne ordered his men to sleep on their arms. Col. Hampton, the second in command, received the attack, resulting in the massacre of Paoli. Wayne retreated, rallied his troops and made a stand. The British retired with 70 or 80 prisoners and eight baggage wagons. Smallwood's men seeing the victors approaching, fled in a panic. Having disposed of Wayne, Howe made a rapid march up the Schuylkill on the road to Reading, as if to capture the stores; this was a feint.

Washington followed to Pottsgrove, 30 miles from Philadelphia. Howe succeeded in crossing at Valley Forge, and Gordon's Ford (Phoenixville), and moving southward, encamping at Stony Creek, Norristown, for the night, slipped into Philadelphia by Germantown, a march of 20, some say 30, miles.

Washington then collected his force, about 8,000 and 3,000 militia, marched to Pottsgrove, Pennypacker's Mills, to Skippack Creek, camping at Mecthacton Hills, 14 miles from Germantown.

About this time Washington heard of the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates, who had reported directly to Congress, then sitting at Yorktown, ignoring his Commander-in-chief, taking the credit of Schuyler's sagacity, Washington's activity in detaining Howe, and Arnold's bravery.





It was decided to move to Blue Bell and the Morris House. Hoping that the defence of the Delaware would resist the fleet under Admiral Howe, the American army could invest by land, and thus as Franklin had said, Philadelphia has taken General Howe instead of Howe taking Philadelphia.

Intercepted letters giving information that Howe had detached some of his force to the Jerseys, to aid in clearing the River Delaware, Washington determined to attack the British camp at Germantown. The British encampment extended across the village of Germantown at right angles with the main road. From the Skippack Creek, 14 miles, the march began down the Skippack road, to approach by four routes, that all should arrive at the same time.

The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's Brigade, were to enter the town by a road leading to the enemy's centre, while Armstrong with the Pennsylvania Militia were to take the road on the right near the Schuylkill and gain their left.

The divisions of Greene and Stephens flanked by McDougal's Brigade were to make a circuit on the American left by the Limekiln Pike, and attack the British right wing, while the Maryland and Jersey Militia under Smallwood were to march down by a road still further to the left, Old York Road, and fall upon their right flank and rear. The plan was well concerted and the surprise complete. Washington accompanied the right wing, emerging from the woods at Chestnut Hill. The morning was dark, and there was a heavy fog.

The patrol led by Capt. Allen McLane, attacked the soldiers stationed as pickets, attached to a battalion forming at Mount Airy. Wayne led the attack with light infantry. He says they broke at first, but soon formed, and a well-directed fire followed on both sides. The British again gave way, but returned. Sullivan's division formed on the west of the road and joined in the attack. The rest were too far off. The enemy broke, leaving their artillery, and were hotly pursued



by Wayne. "Our men pushed on with the bayonet," says Wayne, "remembering Paoli, Sept. 20th." Officers tried to restrain them and a terrible melee occurred. The fog, together with the smoke from the guns made it as dark as night. The whole force of the enemy were driven from the ground, leaving the tents standing, and all the baggage. Col. Musgrave threw himself with some companies of the 40th British Regiment, into Chew's house. The main body passed on, pursued by Wayne.

As the rest of this division came up to join in the pursuit, Musgrave opened fire from the upper windows of Chew's house. This halted them; some were for pushing on, but General Knox objected, on the old military maxim, "never leave a garrisoned fort in the rear." Lieutenant Smith, demanding surrender, with a flag of truce, was mortally wounded. The artillery was too light, and an attempt to fire the house failed. At length a regiment was left, and the rest passed on. This delay was fatal though only half an hour. The divisions could not be united. The fog and the smoke rendered all obscure at 30 yards. They knew nothing of their position; the original plan was only carried out in the centre; the flanks were not molested.

Sullivan, however, reinforced by the North Carolina Brigade, pushed on a mile beyond Chew's house, when the left wing of the enemy gave way before him. Greene and Stephens having made a circuit, were late, and became separated by reason of Stephen's division stopping to relieve the force at Chew's house. Greene pushed on to the market place, driving the enemy and taking a number of prisoners. The enemy began to waver; Smallwood and the New Jersey and Maryland troops were just showing themselves on the right flank of the enemy, and our troops seemed on the point of carrying the day, when a singular panic seized our army. Wayne's division having pursued three miles, alarmed by an approach of a body of American troops on their left, which they mistook for the enemy, fell back in spite of their officers. Falling upon Stephens'





division, they threw them into a panic, thinking they were the enemy, thus all was in confusion, and our army fled from their own victory, pursued by light horse from Philadelphia. The retreat met with less loss than might have been expected, the Americans carrying their guns and making a running fight. Wayne, in the meantime, turned his cannon from the Church hill and brought the enemy to a stand. Then the retreat continued all day, to the Perkiomen Creek, 20 miles.

Sullivan writes that Washington greatly exposed himself, and yielded to his entreaties to retire, but returned.

Washington writes to Congress: "Every account confirms the opinion I first entertained, that our troops retreated on the instant when victory was declared. The tumult and discord and even despair which it seemed had taken place in the British army was scarcely to be paralleled, and it is said, so thoroughly did the idea of retreat prevail that Chester had been fixed for their rendezvous. I can discover no other cause for not improving this happy opportunity than the extreme haziness of the weather."

So, also, Capt. Heath, of Virginia, writes: "What makes this inglorious flight more galling to us was that we knew the enemy had ordered a retreat or rendezvous at Chester. And that 2000 Hessians had actually crossed the Schuylkill; that the Tories were in intense distress and moving from the city: that our prisoners confined in the new jail made it ring with shouts of joy; that we passed, on pursuing, over 20 pieces of cannon, their tents standing filled with the choicest baggage; in fine, everything was as we could have wished, when the above flight took place."

Wayne writes: "Fortune smiled upon us for full three hours. The enemy were broken, dispersed, flying in all quarters, we were in possession of their whole encampment, together with all their artillery. A windmill attack was made upon a house, into which six light companies had thrown themselves, to avoid



our bayonets. Our troops were deceived by this attack; thinking it something formidable, they fell back. The enemy believing it to be a retreat, followed; confusion ensued, and we ran away from the arms of victory open to us."

The plan of attack was too widely extended for concert, and too complicated for precise cooperation, and the march had to be conducted in the night and with a large portion of undisciplined militia, and yet a bewildering fog alone appeared to have prevented its complete success.

Irving says, however, that the impression made by the audacity of this attack attempted upon Germantown, was greater, we are told, than that caused by any single incident of the War, after Lexington and Bunker Hill.

A British military historian observes: "In this action the Americans acted upon the offensive and though repulsed with loss, showed themselves a formidable adversary, capable of charging with resolution, and retreating in good order."

The army moved from Perkiomen to the old camping ground at Pennypacker's Mills. Washington was reinforced by some troops from Peekskill, no longer needed on the Hudson. To be nearer to Philadelphia he moved to the Blue Bell tavern, and encamped at Drayton's woods, with headquarters at the Morris house. It was here that Lafayette joined him and a council of war was held; also a court martial at the request of Wayne, to investigate the Paoli affair. It was important to watch Howe, as well as to hem him in at Philadelphia, and cut off supplies.

The army moved to White Marsh. The main army encamped on the hill just beyond Fort Washington, called Camp Hill, formerly the property of John Fell, now Mrs. Alexander Van Rensselaer's. Washington's headquarters were established just below, in the house owned by George Emlen, a prominent Quaker merchant. The left wing occupied Fort Washington, where a strong redoubt was erected to command the





road leading to Germantown and Philadelphia. The Militia under General Potter, occupied this hill to the right.

The country was thickly wooded, with the Sandy Run in the rear of Fort Washington and the Wissahickon running along the side, with trees leveled in front, their tops pointed outward, made a strong position.

Gates was pressed to send reinforcements, especially Morgan's men. He delayed, finally they and other troops arrived. The delay was embarrassing as the enemy were making attempts on Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin on the Delaware. Howe constructed batteries and invested by land and water, but Washington could not relinquish his position as it would leave the stores at Easton, Bethlehem and Allentown exposed. General Varnum was stationed at Red Bank.

Howe attacked Fort Mifflin and the garrison was compelled to retreat to Red Bank. Finally the British fleet was successful in ascending the river, and the Americans were driven from their position. Had Gates obeyed orders and sent reinforcements, we might have stood our ground.

Washington's position here at Fort Washington was very strong; the British delayed action until they had completed some defences along the Schuylkill, and took extraordinary precaution in case of defeat.

On the fourth of December, Capt. Allen McLane brought news to Washington's headquarters that an attack was to be made that night. About three, the alarm guns announced the approach of the enemy; they advanced as day broke and encamped at Chestnut Hill, three miles from the right wing. Brigadier General Irvine was sent with 600 Pennsylvania Militia to skirmish. He met a force coming from Flourtown at the foot of the hill below the church. His men gave way and he was taken prisoner. In the night the British moved northward, approaching within a mile of the encampment, the valley and the stream of Sandy Run intervening; there on the edge of the hill they re-





mained all day, having formed a line from our right to the extremity of our left upon the long height opposite to ours in the wood, fully three miles in extent directly in front of the American camp. At one o'clock in the morning they inclined still further to the left, indicating a general attack if Washington could be induced to leave his stronghold.

To check the plundering of the farmers in the vicinity of Edge Hill, Morgan and his corps, supported by Potter's brigade and Col. Gist's Maryland Militia, were sent forward. A severe fight took place; the British were obliged to concentrate their forces. The militia then fell back, as it was determined that no general engagement should take place unless they (i. e., the British) should attack Washington in position.

In this advance the British had secured a higher and more commanding position; Washington felt that an attack was intended. At 12 o'clock that night, 12 regiments paraded before Washington's headquarters under Sullivan and Wayne, when news came that the enemy had retreated to Philadelphia. Washington writes to Congress: "I detached light troops to fall upon them, but they were not able to come up with them. I sincerely wish they had made the attack, as the issue, in all probability, from the disposition of our troops, and the strong position of our camp, would have been fortunate and happy."

The British Army appear to have marched by the Church road, next by the Limekiln road, and lastly by the Susquehanna Street road, and thence down the old York road, through Jenkintown, Shoemaker's Town and Rising Sun. Washington writes further he was doubtful of the enemy's loss; one account was 500 men killed and wounded, but this was doubtless exaggerated. Graham, in his life of General Morgan, says 350 killed and wounded, but adds that the rifle corps suffered severely.

Washington says 27 men killed in Morgan's corps besides Major Morris, a valuable officer, wounded. Christopher Marshall in his diary states that General



Howe had returned on the evening of the 8th, leaving behind 200 men, to the great astonishment of the citizens. Major Simcoe of the Queen's Rangers says the rebels lost about 100 men and the King's troops a little more. This would show that the struggle had been a sharp one. Howe must have had nearly three fourths of his whole army. In the retreat, and in the four days' plundering, the British inflicted severe loss upon the inhabitants below Chestnut Hill, burning houses and seizing everything at hand, while the Hessians committed many outrages.

It has always been a matter of surprise that the British did not attack the rear, where they could have cut off Washington from his baggage and provisions.

In this connection we should not omit the story of Lydia Darrah, who, it was claimed, gave the information of the attack by Howe. This has lately become a burning question. The Daughters of the American Revolution have threatened to become excited. A writer says if Washington was the father of his country Lydia Darrah was the mother, etc. William Darrah and his wife occupied the house where Major Andre, the British Adjutant General, had established himself in Philadelphia. She overheard the arrangements, and feigning sleep, arose to secure the doors as the officer departed. In the morning she informed the family that she must go to Frankford for some flour, stopping at the British headquarters to obtain a pass. Leaving her bag at Frankford she continued five miles through the snow to the American outposts. Falling in with Captain John Craig of the Light Horse, sent by Washington to gather information of the movements of the enemy, she disclosed her secret. Capt. Craig conducted her to a house nearby and hastened to Washington's headquarters with the news. When the British Army returned to Philadelphia, the Adjutant General, Andre, entered the house and inquired if any of her family were up the night before. She replied that all had retired at 8 p. m. Andre replied: "It is very strange how Gen. Washington could have obtained the





information of our attack. I knew you were asleep Lydia, for I rapped three time before you awakened, yet it is certain we were betrayed. We found Washington prepared at every point to receive us, and we were obliged to march back to the city like a parcel of fools."

In one of the historical sketches published by the Historical Society of Montgomery County, the author remarks, "Shame on the American people that this brave woman should have gone to her grave without reward, while 'Captain Molly' (Pitcher) of Monmouth was rewarded. By the recommendation of Washington, her name was placed on the list of half-pay officers for life, and she also had conferred upon her the commission of sergeant. The action of Mrs. Darrah was of so much more importance to the army that we fail to understand why it should have passed unrecognized by the Government." Watson says General Armstrong and Colonel Clark gave the information Nov. 29 and Dec. 1 and 3.

Irving, in his life of Washington, tells us that Capt. Allen McLane gave Washington this information, and Washington himself writes to Congress: "From a variety of intelligence received, I had reason to believe that General Howe intended to give us a general action." In the 1st volume of "The Life and Letters of Elias Boudinot," page 68, we find he writes:

"In the autumn of 1777 the American army lay some time at Whitemarsh. I was then commissary-general of prisoners and managed the intelligence of the army. I was reconnoitering along the lines near the city of Philadelphia. I dined at a small post at the Rising Sun, about three miles from the city. After dinner a little, poor-looking, insignificant old woman came in and solicited leave to go into the country to buy some flour. While we were asking some questions she walked up to me and put into my hands a dirty old needlebook with various small pockets in it. Surprised at this, I told her she should return and she should have an answer. On opening the needlebook I could



not find anything till I got to the last pocket, where I found a piece of paper rolled into the form of a pipe shank. On unrolling it I found information that General Howe was coming out the next morning with 5,000 men, 13 pieces of cannon, baggage wagons and 11 boats on wagon wheels. On comparing this with other information I found it true, and immediately rode first to headquarters. According to my usual custom, and agreeable to orders received from General Washington, I first related to him the naked facts without comment or opinion. He received it with much thoughtfulness. I then gave him my opinion, that General Howe's design was to cross the Delaware under pretense of going to New York, then in the night to recross the Delaware above Bristol and come suddenly on our rear, where we were totally unguarded, and cut off our baggage, if not the whole army. He heard it without a single observation, being deep in thought. I repeated my observations. He still was silent. Supposing myself unattended to I earnestly repeated my opinion with urging him to order a few redoubts thrown up in our rear, as it was growing late. The general answered me, 'Mr. Boudinot, the enemy have no business in our rear; the boats are designed to deceive us. Tomorrow morning by daylight you will find them coming down such a byroad on our left.' Then calling an aide-de-camp, ordered a line thrown up along our whole front at the foot of the hill. As I was quartered on that very byroad with six or eight other officers, a mile in front of our army and no picket advanced in front of us, his opinion made a deep impression upon me, though I thought the General under a manifest mistake. I returned to my quarters, first obtaining a picket to be put on that road in advance. When I got home the officers were informed of the news and my opinion that we should lose our baggage at least the next morning. That our General was at least out in his judgment, but repeated his last words, proposed it as a matter of prudence to have our horses saddled and the servants ordered to have them at the door on





the first alarm gun being fired. About 3 o'clock in the morning we were aroused by the alarm guns; we immediately mounted. By sunrise the British were in possession of our quarters down the byroad mentioned by General Washington. I then said I never would set up my judgment against his. The enemy remained several days encamped on Chestnut Hill and General Washington opposite to him. On the evening of the second or third day General Washington was informed of some very harsh and severe speeches made by a committee from Congress, of which Robert Morris was one, relative to General Washington for not attacking the British and putting an end to the war at once, and declaring that if he did not do it further opposition to the British was vain, etc. The fact was that both parties were so strongly covered that the assailant in all probability would have been beaten and the essential interests of America required that the Americans should gain the battle. However General Washington being exceedingly hurt with these observations and hard speeches determined at all events to hazard an attack and let the committee abide the consequences. Accordingly he detached General Wayne with his brigade to advance on the enemy and into the valley between the two armies and near the foot of Chestnut Hill, to be ready in the morning. Another brigade was advanced part of the way towards him.

"A spy, who was in our camp immediately on Wayne's moving carried the intelligence to the British general. A skirmish was had in the day and one of our militia generals was wounded and taken prisoner. He was put into a room adjoining one in which a British aide-de-camp lodged. He overheard an officer come in and tell him that the Rebels were advancing to make an attack next morning and that their retreat was ordered by the British general. When the American troops began their movement next morning at the dawn of day not a British soldier was to be seen. The light horse pursued and came up and harassed the rear of the British a few miles from Philadelphia.





Thus the defeat of the American army was again providentially prevented, for we were by no means equal to the attack, as the British were so strongly formed and our army made up of undisciplined men."

From this it would appear that Lydia Darrah really did give information and the story is true; but it was not to her alone the credit was due, which may have made it impossible to do full justice to her.

While in camp here, Washington learned of the activity of the cabal against him. It seems that on the 17th of October, 1777, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee, then in Congress, protesting against the promotion of Gen. Conway to the rank of Major General, which threw Conway into the faction then forming. He became so active that the faction acquired the name of "Conway's Cabal." The object seemed to be to depreciate Washington's military character in comparison with that of Gates, who had achieved the surrender of Burgoyne by the plans of Washington and Schuyler, and the bravery of Arnold. The correspondence between Conway and Gates, and also of James Lovell, member of Congress from Massachusetts, was of extraordinary character, on a parallel with that of General Charles Lee.

Washington writes Conway—Sir: A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph—in a letter from General Conway to General Gates he says . . . Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad Counsellors would have ruined it. I am sir your humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

James Lovell writes to Gates: "You have saved our Northern Hemisphere; and in spite of consummate and repeated blundering, you have changed the condition of the Southern campaign, on the part of the enemy from offensive to defensive. . . . The campaign here must soon close; if our troops are obliged to retire to Lancaster, Reading, Bethlehem, etc. for winter quarters, and the country below is laid open to the enemy's flying parties, great and very general will be the murmur—so great, so general, that nothing inferior to a



commander-in-chief will be able to resist the mighty torrent of public clamor and public vengeance. We have had a noble army melted down by ill-judged marches, marches that disgrace the author and directors, and which have occasioned the severest and most just sarcasm and contempt of our enemies.

"How much are you to be envied my dear general! How different your conduct and your fortune!

"A letter from Col. Mifflin, received at the writing of the last paragraph, gives me the disagreeable intelligence of the loss of our fort on the Delaware. You must know the consequences—loss of the river boats, galleys, ships of war, etc.: good winter quarters to the enemy, and a general retreat, or ill-judged, blind attempt on our part to save a gone character.

"Conway, Spotswood, Conner, Ross and Mifflin resigned, and many other brave and good officers are preparing their letters to Congress on the same subject. In short this army will be totally lost, unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner, and with their aid save the Southern Hemisphere. Prepare yourself for a jaunt to this place—Congress must send for you."

Finally the intrigues of the cabal were exposed resulting in the duel of Conway and the complete extinction of the whole party, during the encampment at Valley Forge. Lafayette writes that Lee would have profited by their schemes, not Gates. Gates was the real conspirator and Conway but a tool.

The winter had now set in. After holding a council of war, the Commander-in-chief decided to march to Valley Forge where he could protect the country and watch the enemy. As the stone erected by this society at the side of the Bethlehem Pike below Fort Washington, tells us, about 700 feet south of this stone is an American redoubt and the site of Howe's threatened attack, Dec. 6, 1777. From here Washington's army marched to Valley Forge." Along this Skippack road, turning to the left at the Broad Axe, across Swedesford (Norristown) at Matson's Ford (Conshohocken)





to Gulf Mills, thence to Valley Forge. As Washington said you could track the army by the blood from the feet of the men in the snow.

The attempt to capture Lafayette took place after the army was in winter quarters at Valley Forge, but the music of the Meschianza reminds us that we are close to the scene. Washington having heard that the British were about to evacuate Philadelphia detached Lafayette with about 2200 men and five guns on the 18th of May, 1778, on a reconnoissance, cautioning him against surprise. He marched from Valley Forge crossing at Swede's Ford (Norristown) to Barren Hill, and took position near the church about eleven miles from Philadelphia and twelve from Valley Forge. Secure against an attack on his front and right, General Potter with the militia was ordered to scout and guard against an attack from Philadelphia by Germantown and Chestnut Hill.

Generals Howe and Clinton learning that Lafayette was thus isolated from the main army, thought it an opportunity to wind up the Meschianza and bring Lafayette back to Philadelphia as a prisoner of war. Apart from the glory to Howe, who was about to return to England, it would have been a blow to the French negotiations, and therefore a most important affair. Mr. Charlemagne Tower, quoting from the memoirs of the Marquis, says: "So certain were they of success that they had invited a party of ladies and gentlemen to meet General Lafayette at an entertainment the next day. Admiral Lord Howe accompanied his brother as a volunteer. So the morning after the Meschianza one division of 8,000 men with fifteen pieces of artillery under General Grant moved by Frankford to White Marsh, thence along this Skippack Pike to the Broad Axe about a mile from here, turning to Plymouth, securing Swede's ford in the rear of the American troops.

General Potter was supposed to be on the watch at this very point, but for some reason never explained to this day disappeared.

Another column with a force of cavalry marched



by Germantown along the Schuylkill on the left directly to Barren Hill, while a third body of men advanced forward along the Ridge road to attack the front. Generals Howe and Clinton accompanied this last force. Thus it was intended that Lafayette should be completely surrounded. But it seems from the tradition of a local historian that a certain Captain Stoy living near the mill below discovered the troops which the militia had failed to find and ran to the Broad Axe, where he called up Rudolph Bartleson, who continued on to Plymouth and gave the alarm. Some say that Stoy ran across these fields direct to Plymouth. Mr. Tower says that General Grant stopped at the Broad Axe for breakfast, affording an opportunity for the news to spread.

There are letters from French officers on Lafayette's staff relating how Lafayette discovered Matson's Ford (Conshohocken) which he gained before General Grant reached it. Throwing forward a force to hold Grant, Lafayette withdrew his men across this ford to the other side of the Schuylkill. Lafayette says in his memoirs Generals Howe and Clinton led back their men to Philadelphia "very tired, very much ashamed and very much laughed at." Remaining all night on the South side of Matson's Ford, after the retreat of the British he recrossed and took up his former position at Barren Hill, thence across Swedes' Ford by the road he had come, back to Valley Forge.

A brilliant feat but "a very near thing."

Nothing now remains in sight save the flag contributed by this society to the care of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, to whom we owe our thanks, and St. Thomas's Church. There is no greater monument than a historic church. For more than two centuries St. Thomas's Church has prospered with a bright future still before it, unlike the pitiful tale of stranded churches in large cities. Philadelphia was in its earlier days a mere village, and all this country thickly wooded, perhaps desolate.

When we say the church we do not mean the beautiful structure consecrated in 1881—once a church al-





ways a church. Improvement and change of structure indicate progress. The original was but a log chapel, built in 1695, by the family of Major Jasper Farmer, the first settler. In 1701 this log chapel was destroyed by fire and the descendants of Major Farmer erected a substantial stone church which stood for 107 years. The rector of the church at Oxford, about 10 miles distant, had charge of both. The road on the left (right from here), was built to facilitate his journey between the two churches. Known as the Church road, it is today recognized as one of the best in the county.

Among others the Rev. William Smith officiated until the Revolutionary War. Services were then suspended. The church hill was on three occasions occupied by military forces, first by the Americans after the battle of Germantown when Wayne brought the pursuing enemy to a stand, second by a body of Hessian cavalry, and third by the British Army under Howe. The church was defaced and finally almost destroyed by fire.

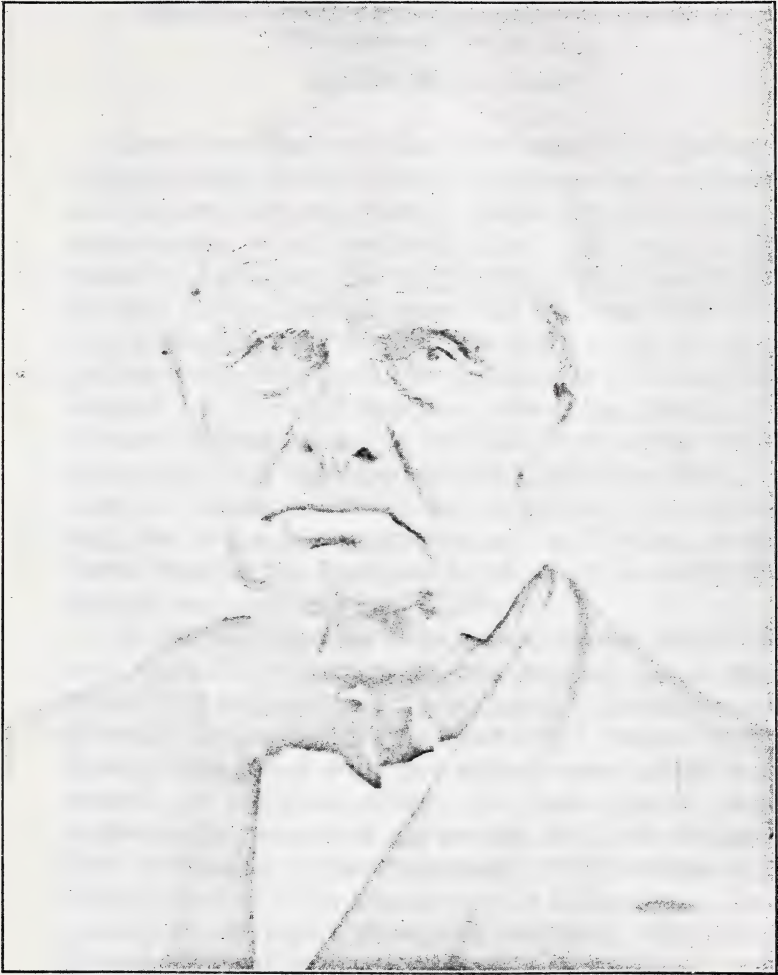
The grave stones, then long flat pieces, resting on supports received rough treatment. Fires were lighted under them and some of the upright stones bear the marks of bullets.

At the close of the war the church was a ruin and some years passed before services could be resumed. In 1881, while the Rev. Henry Ingersoll Meigs was rector, with the Sheaff family, who still reside near in the house of Anthony Morris, the present structure was completed, as the late rector, the Rev. Samuel Snelling, has said, a lasting monument to themselves forever. The present rector, the Rev. Alexander J. Miller, extends to you an invitation to see for yourselves that nothing has been exaggerated.

I have tried to tell you the story of Fort Washington; but there is so much more to be said that I must ask you to consider very seriously whether you could not make a second pilgrimage to complete that history of which you have had a mere summary.







DAVID JARRETT, Jeffersonville, Pa.



## AN OVERLAND TRIP TO THE GREAT WEST IN 1834

From the Diary of David Jarrett, Father of the late Samuel F. Jarrett, a Life Member of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Etc.

By DR. W. H. REED

Upon the death of the late Samuel F. Jarrett, of Jeffersonville, Pennsylvania, on going over some of his old papers, among these I found an old diary, or memoranda, of an overland trip to the west, in 1834, made by his father, David Jarrett, with a party, when his son Samuel was a mere lad of some nine years. The Jarrett family at the time were living as renters on what was then known as the Joseph William's farm, located in Upper Providence township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the west bank of the Perkiomen creek, and just opposite to "Millgrove Mills," the home of "Audubon," the great naturalist. At this later day the place better known as the Mahlon Ambler farm, borders the Perkiomen creek and is nearby Oaks station, on the Perkiomen railroad.

Of the diary, in his time father Jarrett spoke of it, and apparently part of it was lost for as it was it would not connect rightly or make a complete story. Recently by an accidental discovery a second book of it was found, and with this added—now makes a connected, or complete story. In these, David Jarrett makes daily records of his travels and their doings, as they proceeded on their journey, all of which, at this later period of time, are extremely interesting. In depicting in narrative form his overland trip and the means of travel to the great west in those days it makes in toto, a plain and most interesting story.

In his entries he records the distance covered by them each day, the towns visited, character of the roads and country through which they passed, and more in





particular he gives the innkeepers and the quaint names of the old inns at which they stopped for rest and refreshment. In comparison with travel of today, such journeys in those days must have been slow, tiresome and at times—very uncomfortable.

The period of our story takes us back nearly a century ago, to the time when the great migration westward was vast, and as the new States of Ohio, Indiana and other bordering territories were being rapidly settled, and mostly by southeastern Pennsylvania families. The Indian of this locality was now migrating rapidly to better hunting grounds west of the Mississippi river; with this contention at settlement removed made it the easier and safer for the pioneer and frontiersman in settlement of his lands, and the placing of the new country under civilization, progress and advancement.

Stories of the wonderful resources of the west; its great anticipations and realizations were, at this time, being told and circulated throughout the east; a fever heat of unrest and desire was being created in the breasts of the restless; and all sort of visions and great anticipations took root in many. Among those to contract the fever was David Jarrett, David Rogers, Isaac Roberts, Charles Harmer, Robert Harper, and Charles Smith. All of these persons with one exception resided in Upper Providence township, and were of the Friend or Quaker persuasion.

Their plans completed, which consisted of two teams of two horses each, geared to dearborn wagons, and making three men to a team. These were fitted with all needful essentials and comforts for such travel. After bidding their families good-bye, they then started on their great overland trip westward with great anticipations.

In making this trip it was their intention, on leaving home, to look over and locate farms in the west with the ultimate purpose of removing their families thither. The season of the year they selected for this trip was not the best for observation and selection, for the roads at places were bad, the air raw and chilly,



and the country had not rightly revived from its winter dormancy. All this had more or less chilling effect as they progressed, but they faltered not, and forged ahead with great expectations and enthusiasm.

They had friends in these States who had preceded them on a similar mission, and had located. These were sought out where they could be conveniently reached, both for a friendly visit and for information. Prominent among these families was a former neighbor by the name of Daniel Tyson, who had preceded them for some time. He was located on a fine farm, on the White river, in Hamilton County, Indiana, and about twenty miles distant north of the city of Indianapolis.

When the party had reached their point of destination—the home of Daniel Tyson on White river, they learned to their sorrow and disappointment, that in the meantime he had gone east, to his former home in Pennsylvania, for his family and his personal possessions. On enquiry, his neighbors informed them that Mr. Tyson was on the way and likely to return to his new home at most any time.

Somewhat disappointed in their visit there, the visitors becoming discouraged, and after going thoroughly over the ground and opportunities about there they then determined to retrace their way homeward. Some few days afterwards, to their great surprise and pleasure, the party and Mr. Tyson and family met on the road. The meeting took place in western Ohio, and near the town of Eaton. Mr. Tyson and family and possessions were all loaded on a big wagon, drawn by horses, and were at the time slowly wending their way westward to their home in Indiana. The meeting was a pleasant surprise to all. After formal greetings and a discussion of the great opportunities the west offered to settlers, the Jarrett party became somewhat dubious. After an affectionate and mutual good-bye, both parties resumed their respective journeys, and in due time the Jarrett party arrived safely back to their homes, and concluded the eastern country of Pennsylvania would still remain and continue their accepted





place of residence. We now follow with the diary of David Jarrett:—

"Left my home in Upper Providence Township, Montgomery County, Penna., May 5th, 1834, through Moore Hall thence to Morgantown, by way of the Ridge road, by monument (at Union Church in East Vincent, Chester County), through Coventryville, St. Peter's Church, Iron Mine, St. Mary's Church into the Conestoga Valley to Morgantown, a distance of twenty-four miles. A very rainy day, and put up for the night at John Hughes' tavern. Left here in the morning of the 6th, passed through Churchtown a distance of three miles, and a very fine country along the Conestoga pike. Came to the turnpike leading from Downingtown to Harrisburg. At this point we eat breakfast and fed our horses at the "Sign of the Blue Ball," and covering a distance of nine miles. We then started for Harrisburg, passing through Swopetown and Hinkletown and crossed the Conestoga Creek, between the two towns, which was about a distance of five miles.

"From here we went on to the "Sign of the Cross Keys," distance of two miles and watered the horses, and then continued on to the "Sign of the Bell" in Brickerville, a distance of eight miles and fed our horses, we eating a cold bite. We passed the Warwick Church about two miles back of the tavern, and two miles further on we entered on the South Mountain. Covering a distance of seven miles we came to the Cornwall Furnace, belonging to Coleman. We continued through a lime stone valley to the "Sign of the Cross Keys," through Lebanon County and township for a distance of two miles, and stopped here to water our horses. We then resumed our journey to the "Sign of the Spread Eagle," where we lodged with a Mr. Carper in a very fine house with very good entertainment, and the place called Mount Pleasant.

"Next morning was the 7th, we resumed our journey to a town called Campbellstown, then on to Hummelstown, a distance of nine miles, and breakfasted at Fox's tavern, "sign of the Sorrel Horse." About half past nine o'clock we resumed our journey, and about one mile on, passed over the Swatara Creek, on a stone arched bridge, and got to Harrisburg at twelve o'clock, covering a distance of nine miles. When we arrived in sight of the town we passed down a tolerably steep hill, and crossed a small piece of flat ground and over the state canal into the town. We stopped at the State Capitol Hotel.

"We left Harrisburg about half past three o'clock in the afternoon, and passed on up the bank of Susquehanna River to the mouth of Stony Creek, in Dauphin County, for a distance of ten miles to a saw mill and large tannery, both turned by waters of the Stony Creek. Here a mountain rises up from the Susquehanna to a distance of one thousand feet. We arrived at this point about six o'clock. This mountain is called the Kittaninny Mountain. We put up here for the night in Dauphin-town.

"In the morning of the 8th we resumed our journey up along the Susquehanna River about six miles to Duncannon's Island, where we crossed the Susquehanna River on a bridge at a point just above the mouth of the Juniata River, and then





continued up that river about two miles to a large brick tavern and breakfasted. About nine o'clock we went to see the aqueduct, built of stone and six arches across the Juniata, of one hundred feet each and about thirty feet high. The canal here branches, one branch leads to Pittsburg up the Juniata, and the other branch leads up the Susquehanna River to Northumberland. We then resumed our journey up the Juniata river to Millerstown a distance of fourteen miles, through a very mountainous and poor country. We crossed one small stream of water, and passed through one small village before arriving at Millerstown. We arrived here about half past two o'clock.

"Here we stopped and fed. It was a pretty snug little town, having four taverns, a store, and a Presbyterian church. We stopped at A. B. Selheimer's tavern, "sign of the Eagle." Here is a cross road, one leads to Bloomfield, county town of Perry, a distance of nine miles, and the other to Carlisle, a distance of twenty-six miles. We now passed up the river over the turnpike through a pretty rough country and very mountainous, to Thompsontown, a distance of five miles. Here we turned to the right on the road leading up the mountain, and then came to some very fine land of apparently good quality until we arrived at Mifflintown, Juniata County, a distance of nine miles. Here we staid over night at T. Kerr's tavern, known as the "sign of the Traveller," and took supper and breakfast.

"Next morning was the 9th of May, and while waiting for breakfast we took a stroll through Mifflintown. On the main street we found some fine buildings and business places, and appeared to be an active business place. Here is a fine court house. The buildings off from the main street are but middling and indifferent. About seven o'clock we resumed our journey along the Juniata river toward Lewistown. We passed through a place called the Narrows about nine miles from Mifflintown, and here watered our horses. Then we continued on to Lewistown, distant three miles over the turnpike, through a very rough part of country until near the town, and here we found about one thousand acres of very good looking land.

"We fed our horses here, and during this period, we took a stroll through the town. It appeared to a pretty smart place of business. It is a pretty town, and nearly as large as Norristown, and contains some pretty brick buildings. It is the county town of Mifflin, and contains a court house and gaol. Here too we find many stores and taverns, and all kinds of business is done; the State canal passing through here adds to its business interests.

"We left here following the road leading up the Kishickoquallis creek for a distance of five and half miles to a town called Brown's Mills, and here the country opens into a beautiful limestone valley called Kishickoquallis Valley, and lies between the Jack and Stone mountains. Passed through a small village called Green Wood and here watered the horses; distant eight miles from Brown's Mills. After a distance of seven miles we came to a village called Allensville, remained here for the night at the "Allenville hotel," and was kept by a man by the name of Swartz.

"Next morning, May 10th, we proceeded in the direction of the Juniata river, for a distance of ten miles, to Mill



Creek, and breakfasted at William Hampson's tavern, "sign of the Buck," on the bank of the State canal. Five miles up the river we came to the County town of Huntingdon. It is situated on the canal, and is a smart little town. At Huntingdon we crossed the Juniata river on a bridge, and then over a mountain called the Warriors Ridge, and came to a nice little town called Alexandria, seven miles distant. The State canal passes through the back part of the town, and the turnpike lies between the canal and the Juniata river. Two miles further on we came to Water Street, a small town, and a half mile further on we stopped at the "sign of Lafayette," and here fed our horses and eat our lunch. We then resumed our journey over the mountains, coming into a limestone valley, and along side of a very steep mountain in sight of the State canal to a place called Canoe Creek, and on to a snug little place called Frankstown; distance fifteen miles. Here we put up at the "Mansion House" hotel.

"Next morning, 11th of May, we drove on to Hollidaysburg, Blair County, distant two and half miles, and breakfasted. Here from cool weather we changed our clothing, and afterwards went down where the cars meet the boats, and watched the packet boats weighed on the scales in the locks. This is a beautiful town and appears to be flourishing very fast. There are many buildings; the town lays very much like Norristown, and far the handsomest town we so far passed through.

"We left here about Eleven o'clock, crossing the Juniata River a small distance above the town, and in sight of the railroad. We now passed through some tolerable coking land of two or three miles, and then entering the Allegheny Mountains. We continued up these for about eight miles, and stopped at a tavern, where the turnpike passes the railroad, and went to the engine house called the Summit, and watched the cars passing up and down the great incline plane.

"We next came to a small village called Munster, and then on to Ebensburg, county seat of Cambria county, distance nine miles, and here we fed and watered our horses. Resuming our journey we passed through a Hemlock swamp, where the timber had been set on fire, still burning and lying over the ground so thick, that we could hardly see the roadway. After a distance of six and half miles we came to a tavern called the "Indian Queen," kept by William Roberts, and put up here for the night.

"On the 12th the weather was cold, and snow covered the mountains. We breakfasted here, and then resuming our journey, passed through a small village called Armagh, in Indiana County, and then on to Blairsville, a distance of twenty-seven miles, and through a very poor country. The town borders the Conamaugh River, over which we crossed into Westmoreland County. We continued over the turnpike to New Alexandria a distance of ten miles, through a very poor, hilly and rough part of the country, and staid here for the night at the "sign of the Green Tree," kept by S. M. Porter. We lodged, supper and breakfasted here.

"We then resumed our journey on the morning of May 13th, the weather being very cold with a heavy frost so that we had to wear our heavy coats, and crossed the Loyalhanna creek on a stone arched bridge. We then came to a pretty little town called New Salem, where we stopped and watered





our horses at the "sign of the Bee Hive," kept by a Mr. Clow. We then continued our journey and passed through the towns of Murrayville, Wilkinsburg, East Liberty and on to the city of Pittsburg, a distance of twenty-four miles. The country was rough and hilly, and arrived at Pittsburg about six o'clock. We put up at J. Fluck's tavern, "sign of the Wheat Sheaf," and remained here until the afternoon of the next day.

"On the 14th of May the weather was still very cold. In the afternoon we went to see the steamboats at the mouth of the Monongahela River, then crossed the Allegheny River on the great aqueduct, over 1200 feet long, over which the boats cross, into Allegheny City. Here is a large nail and rolling mill, and forge, in which Thomas Able, an old time neighbor from the east, was cutting nails. We then returned to the city over the wagon bridge. Pittsburg appears to be a place of great business, but the buildings look very black from smoke from the coal used. We left Pittsburg about 5 o'clock, crossed the Monongahela river, passed into a hilly coal country for a distance of seven miles, and put up at William McCorm's tavern, "sign of Commodore Stephen Decatur."

"After breakfast on the morning of May 15th, we resumed our journey westward. The ground was frozen hard and ice three-fourths of an inch thick. We journeyed to the town of Florence, in Washington County, a distance of eighteen miles. The country was poor, and stopped at Florence and fed our horses. In the afternoon we resumed our journey, passed over into the State of Virginia, and through this State into Steubenville, Ohio. A part of Virginia was very hilly, especially that portion leading to the Ohio river. From Florence to Steubenville was a distance of twelve miles.

"Steubenville is the county town of Jefferson, and a very handsome little town. It lays very level and borders the Ohio river. In the afternoon we continued our journey for a distance of fourteen miles to Bloomingdale, through some very good country, and remained here for the night.

"On the morning of May 16th the ground was considerably frozen. We started for Cadiz, a town twelve miles distant, in Harrison County. The country was hilly, the ground was apparently of good quality, and abounds in limestone and coal. Cadiz is the county town of Harrison. From here we travelled to Moorefield a distance of fourteen miles, then to Londonderry a distance of five miles, and then on to Winchester a distance of four and half miles, and staid at this latter place for the night. This trip led us through some hilly and rough country.

"Next morning, May 17th, there was still ice, and we made an early start and journeyed to the town of Cambridge, county seat of Guernsey, a distance of sixteen miles. We passed through a rough, barren and hilly country and apparently of a poor quality. Here we breakfasted, and fed our horses. Here we took National Turnpike, and journeyed over this to Zanesville, a distance of twenty-four miles. On this trip we passed through the towns of Concord and Norwich, and put at J. Livingood's tavern, "sign of Seven Stars."

"Just before we arrived at Zanesville we passed on the road a moving. In the dearborn wagon were two women, three or four children, and a stout boy leading the horse. The quilers of the harness broke, the wagon ran on the horses' heels, which started the horse at a break neck speed down the



hill, their wagon striking our wagon, and for us tore both shafts off and broke the yoke to the tongue, and our horses came very near spilling us over an embankment of more than twenty feet deep. Fortunately none of us was hurt.

"We stopped at the hotel "Lafayette," in Zanesville. It is a beautiful city, situated on the banks of the Muskingum River, and is the county seat of Muskingum County.

"On the morning of May 18th, we resumed our journey toward Columbus. We crossed the Muskingum river and the Licking Creek, at their junction, on a bridge, and journeyed for six miles to E. Smith's hotel, "sign of the Wagon and Horses," and breakfasted. We again resumed our journey and took a cold bite and fed our horses at the "sign of Peace and Plenty," a distance of sixteen miles; continuing on for five miles we came to the town of Hebron, located on the banks of the canal.

"We then resumed our journey, covering sixteen miles, and came to the town of Reynoldsburg, in Franklin County. On this trip we passed through some very beautiful country, and the lands seemed of excellent quality, and could be bought from three to twenty-five dollars an acre, according to improvements. We put up for the night at McDowell's tavern in Reynoldsville, close by the Lick Creek.

"The next morning, May 19th, we reached Columbus, the county town of Franklin County, covering a distance of ten miles. We staid here and hunted up our old neighbors the Wagensellers and the Chains. This was the Seventh day (Sunday), and proved to be a very solemn and unexpected meeting, as John's wife lay a corpse, she died that morning, and was buried the next day.

"Columbus is a pretty town and the seat of the State government, and lays on the bank of the Sciota river on a level strip of ground. We left here about 12 o'clock the same day, on a hunt for our friend Hiram Lukens. His home is located twelve miles west of Columbus. We journeyed six miles over the National Pike, then turned off to the left, and then struck a very bad six miles of road leading through woods, got to his home about six o'clock in the evening, and found all of the family at home. We remained with them 'till twelve o'clock the next day.

"The next day, May 20th, we resumed our journey, through Georgesville, two and half miles from Hiram Lukens', and here stopped and watered our horses. Then passed up the Darby creek to the National Road at a point a distance of thirteen and half miles from Columbus, and then continued toward Springfield, passing through the town of West Jefferson just after crossing over Darby creek, and turned off the National road on to the Springfield road, to C. Anderson's tavern, for a distance of ten miles. The country is flat with but little timber, and is called prairie land. Anderson's tavern is on what is called the Guin farm, and here we put up for the night.

"May 21st, in the morning we discovered that my horse was very sick. I got her bled, put her to the wagon, and we journeyed on to C. Norton's, "sign of Spread Eagle." This was distant nine miles, and we passed through what was called the "barrens," known as very poor land. At this hotel we eat breakfast and fed the horses. We noticed my sick horse refused to eat. We then geared up and resumed our





journey, to Springfield, Clarke County, distance nineteen miles. We noticed my horse growing weaker, and were in Springfield not more than two hours when she died. We had her dragged out of town for burial. That afternoon I bought another horse out of a carriage that came along.

"Springfield is a beautiful town and is the county seat. The next morning, May 27th, we proceeded on our journey through some limestone land, and made a stop at the town of Enon, a distance of six and half miles. Here is the finest spring of water that I ever saw. Seven and half miles further on we came to the town of Fairfield, in Greene county. This is a pretty little town and in a beautiful level country, and the land appeared to be very good. Four miles further on we came to a new tavern, and here fed our horses and eat dinner.

"We then proceeded on for a distance of eight miles and came to Dayton, the county seat of Montgomery County, and passed through the handsomest land that I ever seen. Just before we entered the town we crossed the canal which runs through part of the town. The town is a very handsome place, and lies on the banks of the big Miami river just below the Mad river. We next crossed the Miami river at Dayton, went down along its west side for a distance of two or three miles, and recrossed the river and passed down the east side for a distance of seven miles through some of the finest kind of land, on through Alexanderville to John Stuart's tavern, right on the banks of the Miami river, and remained here for the night.

"Next morning, May 23d, we proceeded down the river through Miamisburg, a beautiful country, to the town of Franklin, in Warren county, a distance of nine miles. Here we watered our horses, and was told hereabouts were many Quakers. We again took up our journey down the canal nearby the river for six miles, through a pretty country to Middletown, in Butler county. Here we watered our horses and rested. We then continued our journey on the road between the canal and river for three miles, crossed the Miami river, then down the river through a village called Trenton for a mile, and here rested to feed the horses and dine.

"We then resumed our trip, passing through Rossville, over the Miami river on a bridge to the town of Hamilton, the county seat of Butler county, a distance of ten miles. Hamilton is a very pretty town, and the great Miami canal starts here for Dayton a distance of sixty-one miles. We stopped here for the night at John H. Elliott's tavern, "sign of the Globe Inn."

"May 24th. After breakfast we went out to see Wetherill's land. It lays about three miles east of Hamilton. We then returned to the town and resumed our journey, passing through Springdale, Hamilton county, ten miles, distant, and here fed our horses. Again taking up our journey, passed through a small village called Carthage, distance six miles, watering our horses, and travelling nine miles further we came to the city of Cincinnati, about 5 o'clock in the evening. We stopped at "Dennison's Hotel," on Main street. This is a large city and lies on the Ohio river.

"Next day, May 25th, we started for Indianapolis, Indiana. We went on for about eighteen miles, passed through a small village called Cheriot, and then on to Miamistown, where we





crossed the Miami river on a bridge, and put up at the "sign of the Buck," kept by a man by the name of Wright Rittenhouse, a jolly fellow, and hailing from New Jersey.

"Morning of May 26th, we resumed our trip for a distance of seven miles, to the town Harrison, bordering the State of Indiana, and here fed the horses and eat breakfast at S. Bludso's tavern, bordering the White Water river.

"We then resumed our trip on the road, bordering the White Water river for three miles, to a small village called New Trenton, Franklin County, Indiana, and stopped to water our horses. Again we resumed our trip up this stream for eleven miles to Brookville, county town of Franklin. Just before we entered the town we crossed the east branch of White Water River. At Brookville we fed our horses. We now continued our trip up the west branch of the White Water river for eight and half miles, over a very bad road, to Judge Baumont's, who kept private entertainment. He is Judge of Franklin County Court.

"We took breakfast with the Judge on the morning of May 27th. About a mile above the Judge's we crossed the west branch of the White Water river, passing through a heavily timbered country with the exception of patches of cleared and improved land, to H. Anderson's tavern, "sign of the Lion," in Rush county, a distance of fourteen miles. Here we fed our horses and took a cold bite. Then we resumed our journey for seven miles further and reached Rushville, county seat of Rush county. Here we stopped and watered our horses and took refreshments at A. Thomas' tavern, called "Hotel Lafayette." The tavern keeper informed us there was quite a settlement of Friends or Quakers on Blue River not far distant. We found a good deal of cleared land along the road and appeared of good quality. We now crossed the Flat Rock Creek just after we left Rushville, and here found some very fine land, but very bad roads.

"We journeyed until we covered twenty-eight miles, and put up at private entertainment with a man by the name of Beckner. He gave us plenty to eat and drink and was a very clever man. He owned here a section of very fine land and had fine water on it. We crossed a branch of the Blue river just before we got to Beckner's.

"On the morning of May 28th, we passed through some very fine country for a distance of five miles and arrived at a public house half mile off from the Big Blue river, and rested and watered our horses. We then proceeded through a very fine country, for a distance of twelve miles, but awful bad roads, where we stopped to feed our horses and eat a bite of dinner. We then crossed the Blue river and Sugar creek, and several other smaller streams before we got to where we stopped for dinner.

"We then resumed our journey through some very fine country, toward Indianapolis, and covering a distance of thirteen miles over a very bad road—sometimes the horses were in the mud to the depth of their bellies—other times passing over logs laid across the road. We arrived into the city about six o'clock, and put up at John Little's tavern, "sign of the Goddess of Liberty."

"On next morning, May 29th, we took a trip through the town, first going to see the great bridge of the National Road crossing the White river. Then we went to see a steam grist



and saw mill with carding machinery; then to the new State House just about building. There are about one hundred dwellings in the town and many others in prospect; the town is flourishing.

"About eleven o'clock we left the town in our teams and travelled the road up Falls creek for seven miles north of Indianapolis to \_\_\_\_\_, and the man who kept tavern here came from Pennsylvania eleven years ago, and has one hundred and sixty acres of land. Ninety acres of this is cleared, and as handsome land, as fine land as I ever saw. There was a property adjoining this of two hundred acres of excellent land with a saw mill on it. About forty acres is cleared land; the saw mill is on Falls creek. We were informed the man who owned this property would sell for thirteen hundred dollars.

"We then proceeded on up the White River and put up with Thomas Lackey, a private house, who agreed to accommodate us the best he could. We slept three in a bed. It was ten miles from here to the "sign of the Plough," kept by a man by the name of A. Negley.

"The next morning, the 30th of May, we proceeded on about three miles to Thomas Arnott's, near Falls creek. He had a very fine farm which he offered for sale, located about nine miles from Pendleton in Falls Creek Township, Hamilton County, and one hundred and sixty acres of it he offered to sell us for fourteen hundred dollars. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* on to John Lewis', a distance of four miles. The other wagon load went to Solomon Fussel's, a distance of four or five hundred yards further on. Here we put up our horses.

"The next morning, May 31st, we took our guns and went to see Daniel Tyson's farm, and Solomon Fussel went with us. It was about four miles south of Fussel's and very fine land but a very indifferent house. We gunned and looked over the farm, and went back home with twenty-eight squirrels and ten or twelve (wild) pigeons.

"Next morning, June 1st, we went to see several farms in the neighborhood. The land appeared to be good but the improvements were poor.

"On June 2nd, we went to see a man I understood had a horse he wished to trade for a wagon, but the horse was not at home. In the afternoon we geared up to the dearborn wagons, and went back to Thomas Arnott's, as I did not feel quite satisfied to come home without seeing his farm again. We got there about sunset, and he entertained us for the night very nicely.

"On the next morning, June 3d, we again went over Thomas Arnott's land. Then we geared up our horses and he went with us to view a farm that belonged to one of his neighbors by the name of Garrett, about a mile from there, back toward Pendleton. The farm contained one hundred and sixty five acres of land, and sixty five of these was cleared of timber, a fine spring of water on it, and not very good buildings.

"We then went on to Greenfield, in Hancock County, sixteen miles to the south, on the National Road, and twenty-one miles east of Indianapolis. The road we passed over was very muddy, at times the horses was in mud nearly to their bellies, and the fore axel dragged on the mud. At Greenfield we





met the rest of our company. We then drove four miles over the National Road, and put up for the night.

"Next morning, June 4th, after breakfast we came on to Knightstown, in Henry county, a distance of eight miles, and here watered our horses. Then we continued our journey for ten miles and came to Louisville, and here we turned to the right from the National Road, and drove through a woods for three miles, and got on the State road. We continued on this road for seven miles to a small town called Dublin, Wayne County. Here we crossed the National Road, and went on to Centreville, a distance of twelve miles on the National Road. Here we staid for the night.

"On June 5th, in the early morning we made a start for the town of Richmond, distance six miles, and here took breakfast at the "National Hotel" kept by L. Burke. Here we remained until eleven o'clock. We then travelled to Eaton, county seat of Preble county, State of Ohio, covering a distance of sixteen miles, and here fed our horses. Then we continued for a distance of six miles further to a small town called West Alexandria. We staid here for the night with J. Winters, "sign of Union Inn."

"Next morning, June 6th, after breakfast, we resumed our journey over the National Road, for a distance of eighteen miles and came to the town of Dayton. On this trip we passed through some very fine land just before we came into the town of Dayton. After a short rest we travelled three miles further, and came to J. Cox's tavern, "sign of the Sun." Here we fed our horses and eat dinner. Our next stop was at Xenia, Greene County, Ohio, a distance of twelve miles. Just before we arrived at Xenia we crossed the little Miami river, and hereabouts is a very fine country. We continued our trip twelve miles further and came to the town of Jamestown. Here we staid for the night, and took quarters with Q. B. Adams, the hotel keeper.

"We breakfasted here on the morning of 7th of June, and took up our journey for eighteen miles to Washington Court House, county town of Fayette County. Here we fed our horses and took dinner. At this point Isaac Roberts left us to go to Leesburg, Highland county, Ohio, about thirteen miles south-west of this point. The rest of our party continued eastward, to New Holland, Pickaway County, for a distance of eleven miles, and remained at this town for the night.

"After breakfast on the morning of the 8th of June, we travelled a distance of eight miles to Williamsport, same county, a small town located on the banks of Deer Creek. Here we found a strong sulphur spring coming up in the middle of Deer Creek. While resting the horses we went down to see this wonderful spring of water and drank of it. We resumed our journey on the National Road for a distance of twelve miles and came to Circleville, the county town of Pickaway county. This is a beautiful level country, and is known as prairie land. Just before we entered the town we crossed Sciota river and the canal. Here we fed our horses.

"After the horses were through eating we resumed our journey for a distance of six miles, and came to G. Stoudt's Inn, "sign of the Star." After giving our horses water we went on to a small village called Amanda, in Fairfield County, and covered another six miles. Here we stopped for the night with J. Temple, at the "sign of the Amanda Hotel."



"On the morning of June the 9th, we continued over the National Road for a distance of eight miles, arriving at the town of Richmond, county seat of Fairfield County. The country we just passed through did not appear to be very good farm land. We stopped at this town to water our horses; afterwards we resumed our journey ten miles further, to Rushville, and fed our horses at Amos G. Bright's hotel. The country was a good deal hilly between these points.

"We continued our trip eight miles further to the town of Somerset, Perry County; the land between these points was very hilly and dry. In the evening we resumed our trip four miles further, and put for the night with T. Ritchie, "sign of the Buck."

"On June 10th, we did not leave Ritchie's tavern until after breakfast, and journeyed for a distance of five miles to the town of Union, in Muskingum County. Here we made a short stop, and then resumed our journey six miles further to the Inn of P. P. Springer. Here we watered our horses. We then passed down Jonathan's Creek to Zanesville, for a distance of four miles. Zanesville is the county town of Muskingum County, and here we watered our horses.

"After the horses were rested for a while, we continued six miles further on to the public house of J. Livengood's, and fed our horses and eat a cold bite of dinner. Now we proceeded for a distance six miles and came to the town of Norwich, and made a short stop and watered the horses. We then journeyed on three miles to Concord; then nine miles further to Cambridge, the county town of Guernsey County. Here we remained for the night.

"June 11th, after breakfast we resumed our journey, covering a distance of eight and half miles and came to the town Washington; then five and half miles further to Middlebourne; and then for six and half miles on to Fairview town, and nine miles further to Morristown, in Belmont County, and here we stopped for a rest and watered the horses. We then resumed our journey for a distance nine miles to McClairsville, county town of Belmont County, passing through this town and for three miles further, and put up for the night at J. Crimer's Inn.

"On the morning of June 12th, we again resumed our journey for a distance of seven miles and came to the town of Bridgeport, on the Ohio river, and stopped here to water our horses but could get no water. We then crossed the Ohio river into the State of Virginia, and city of Wheeling. We intended staying in this city for part of the day, but found we could not get any water for the horses, and then went on for a distance of two miles to D. Steinrod's hotel, "sign of the Eagle." Here we got water for our horses, and after a short rest, we went on six miles further to a town called Triadelphia, at the forks of the Wheeling, in Ohio County, Virginia (now West Virginia), then four miles further on P. Rhoades' tavern, "Sign of Washington." Here we fed our horses and eat a bite of dinner.

"After a rest we resumed our journey three miles further and passed through the town of West Alexandria, Washington County, state of Pennsylvania, and six miles still further on passed through Claysville, five miles further to Martinsburg, six miles on to Washington, the county seat of Washington County. Washington town is a pretty place and considerably





larger than Norristown, and has a number of very handsome brick buildings. Here we put up for the night at D. Valentine's tavern, "sign of Washington Inn."

"We remained in this town until 11 o'clock of the morning of June the 13th, and then traveled for a distance of ten miles, and came to J. Dennison's tavern, "sign of the Cross Keys," and watered our horses. We took up our journey for a distance of ten miles further and came to the town of Williamsport, (now Monongahela City). This is a very pretty town and lay on flat ground on the bank of the Monongahela river. We stopped at the "sign of the Goose," kept by \_\_\_\_\_, for our entertainment; we travelled seven miles further on, into Allegheny County, and put up for the night at Joseph Vankirk's tavern.

"Next morning, June 14th, I traded my wagon off. We journeyed three miles further, crossed the Youghioghy river, into Robstown, Westmoreland County. We went on ten miles further, and made a stop and fed our horses and took a cold bite. Two miles further on we came to Mount Pleasant, three miles still further we arrived at Jacob's Creek; then we crossed the Chestnut Ridge mountains for a distance of nine miles, to Thomas Jones' tavern, where we put up for the night.

"On the morning of June 15th, we journeyed for a distance of eight miles, over the Laurel Ridge, and stopped to water our horses at the "sign of the Green Tree," kept by William Rickard. We journeyed nine miles further to the county town of Somerset, of Somerset County. Here watered our horses at the "Sign of the Eagle," kept by J. Johnson. We then resumed our journey through a poor looking country, to the foot of the Allegheny Mountains, to Jacob Wilson's tavern, a distance of five miles, and here fed our horses and eat a bite of dinner. We travelled fifteen miles further on that afternoon, and staid for the night at J. Stoudt's tavern.

"Next morning, June 16th, after breakfast we started for Bedford town, County seat of Bedford county, a distance of seventeen miles, and here stopped to rest and watered our horses. Then we continued our trip on to Bloody Run, eight miles distant, and stopped at William Fletcher's tavern, "sign of General Washington," and fed the horses and rested. Then we drove to the top of Sideling Hill, to the forks of the road to James Sprout's hotel, "sign of the Union Inn." The distance was twelve miles, and we staid here for the night.

"The next morning, June 17th, a heavy rain set in, and we did not get started on our trip until nine o'clock. We took the left hand road from Sprout's tavern, journeyed a distance of thirteen and half miles across the mountains, and then fed our horses at a brick tavern. From this point we crossed over the Tuscarora mountains a distance of nine miles and came to Fannettsburg, in Franklin County. This town lies in the valley between the Tuscarora and the Brother mountains. We then crossed another Brother mountain, and came to the "Western Inn," kept by Jonathan Skinner, four miles distant from Fannettsburg. Here we rested for the night.

"Next morning, June 18th, we crossed the 3d Brother mountain and reached Strassburg, a distance of four miles. We then journeyed ten miles up the pike and came to Shippensburg, in Cumberland County. This was a tolerable good road and through a level country. At Shippensburg we turned off the pike onto the Walnut Bottom road, and continued for





five miles and came to the "Walnut Bottom Hotel," kept by Sarah Lee. We fed our horses here and took a cold lunch.

"We then resumed our journey for seven miles and then watered our horses at a wayside inn. We travelled seven miles further on when we arrived at the town of Carlisle, the county town of Cumberland. This is a beautiful town, and lies on the turnpike running from Harrisburg to Baltimore. The Cumberland valley is a beautiful country, and the soil is of a limestone nature. We put up in this town for the night, at the hotel of John Bare, "sign of the Carlisle Inn."

"On June the 19th, we started for the city of Harrisburg. We travelled over the pike for nine miles, passing through Mechanicsburg; eight mile still further on, we stopped at J. Wisler's tavern, "sign of the Green Tree," and here fed our horses and eat a cold snack. Three miles further on brought us into the City of Harrisburg, and here we stopped and watered our horses at the "State Capitol Hotel," conducted by J. B. Henszey. We again resumed our journey for three miles further, and stopped for the night at the "Little Sweet Arrow" hotel; S. Muray, Innkeeper.

"The next morning, June 20th, we journeyed to Hummelstown, distant nine miles, and here eat our breakfast at Samuel Zartman's tavern, called "sign of the Spring Creek Inn." Then we journeyed for seven miles to Millerstown, stopped and watered our horses at the "Sign of the Red Lion," kept by Jacob Henning. We then continued our journey five miles further to the county town of Lebanon, and fed at Samuel Shindles' "sign of the Black Horse." Six miles further on we came to the town of Myerstown; four miles still further on we came to Stouchstown, Berks County, and thence three miles further to Womelsdorf, and put at Moyer's tavern, and staid all night.

"Early next morning, 21st, we left for Sinking Springs, a distance of nine miles, and here breakfasted. The hotel was conducted by William Keyser, and known as the "sign of the Eagle." Our next stop was at "The Fountain Inn," distance six miles and watered our horses. We resumed our journey, and came to Unionville, Chester County, a distance of eleven miles, and here fed and watered our horses at Levering Hotel."

At this point the diary ends abruptly. I presume from Unionville to his home in Upper Providence township, Montgomery County, the final part of the trip, was made in one afternoon. This overland journey made to the (then) far west by these friends, in wagons drawn by horses, over all kinds of roads, conditions of weather, through flat and over mountainous country, fording streams of water, and being entertained at all sorts and kinds of public inns, etc.,—was an eventful one for David Jarrett. The trip, its observations, its experiences and hardships it all necessitated, could not have appealed to David Jarrett sufficiently ever after-



ward to warrant the removal of his family to the far western country of Indiana. The eastern country ever afterwards was good enough for him, for here he always lived in quiet and contentment, and died at the ripe old age of ninety-three years.





## WHITPAIN TOWNSHIP "POT-POURRI"

By CLARA A. BECK

Just as "Boston is the hub of the Universe," so Centre Square is the "hub" of Whitpain township. Of course geographically, it is not properly located to lay claim to a position so important, but this is the fault of the Colonial surveyors, who, embarrassed by the conditions of the period, were compelled to make their measurement (as the old deeds show), from "tree to tree" and "stone to stone."

As stated in the first chapter of the story of the township, it contained within its boundaries 4500 acres, all owned by Richard Whitpain, of London, England; at his death it was sold to his creditors, among whom were Rees Thomas and Anthony Morris. They in turn sold it in small tracts, either to tenants on the ground, or to Philadelphia land speculators.

The late Edward Mathews, one of the most authoritative writers on historic land records of this region, claimed that the tract of ground on which the village of Centre Square was laid out, was sold in 1730 by Rees Thomas and Anthony Morris to Peter In de Haven, variously spelled In de Hoven, or In de Hoffen, according to the orthographic proficiency of the assessors or conveyancers. In 1747 Peter In de Haven sold half of the tract to his brother Samuel, and they held it in partnership for at least ten years.

With this record of pre-Revolutionary ownership to build upon, the writer took special pains to find out something regarding these men, whose descendants, known as "the De Havens of Blue Bell," were still property owners there, within the memory of many of our readers. For this information we are indebted to records gathered by Mr. Horace D. Ross, who has written an unusually interesting story of their activities in



Colonial days, which cannot fail of attracting the present owners of property in Centre Square.

There were four brothers, Jacob, Samuel, Edward and Peter De Haven, who, for some reason not stated, found it desirable to emigrate from France to America; they were of noble birth, and possessed of considerable wealth, which in this emergency they somehow managed to bring with them, this perhaps was possible because they had owned great vineyards, and could "pocket" the proceeds of their sales. On arriving here, they at once bought tracts of land in various localities, especially in Philadelphia, in what is now Montgomery County, and Chester County. This money they used for various purposes, some for vineyards,—bringing expert men from France to cultivate them; some they used to build tanneries; (this was their object in buying land at Centre Square), and still other ground they bought upon which to locate munition factories, and plants for making muskets.

According to the Pennsylvania Archives, they had special contracts with the Council of Safety in Philadelphia, for war supplies, which were paid for by the State Treasury during the Revolution, aggregating the sum of 12,718 pounds, or something like \$36,675.00.<sup>1</sup>

In 1779, Peter was appointed an assessor of Philadelphia County, as well as a health officer; while Samuel was a commissioned officer in the Pennsylvania Line from 1775 to 1783, and a leading man in the Philadelphia County militia (which included Whitpain), and more than that—he was a most practical patriot, as government records show, having loaned \$17,000 to the winning of the "cause," without (tradition says) "any return."

Of course, it is not to be supposed that "men of affairs," like the De Havens, would at this time retire to a remote country district, such as Centre Square happened to be at this time, and were it not for the fact that they were later identified with its history, we would not have considered their story at this length;

1. Penna. currency was then valued at \$3.67 for the pound sterling.





the data concerning the exchange and sale of property at this time is comparatively inaccessible, lying as it does among the earliest, dust covered records of State; but it is assumed that about the year 1757, the De Havens parted with 150 acres of ground, all woodland, extending from below the fire house at Centre Square to some point beyond John Righter's home, on the Skippack. The purchaser, Thomas Fitzwater, was the son of the prominent Quaker preacher of that name, who, with his family, had emigrated to America, from Middlesex, England. on the ship "Welcome," in company with William Penn.

We find that as early as 1705 Thomas Fitzwater, Jr., had established grist mills, and was operating lime-kilns in Upper Dublin, and petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions for a road from Pennypack mills, past his kilns by way of Abington Meeting. This was not attended to until 1725. Fitzwater, being of an enterprising nature, was perhaps led to see at this time, a great opportunity for development in Whitpain realty along the great road to Philadelphia, (the Skippack having been opened to travel some thirteen years earlier), and tradition credits him with having built "The Waggon Inn," founded in 1758, which then was a modest, one-and-a-half story log-and-stone building; the log part extending along what is now the State road.

Thomas Fitzwater had a sister, a widow, whose name was Rose Fitzwater Karn, who owned the farm adjoining, known as the Dannehower farm, (there being no road there at the time to divide these properties,) and this woman achieved fame for herself and for Whitpain, by introducing the "farmerette" idea in America. We doubt if she wore khaki, but she accomplished the then astonishing feat of clearing all her land, excepting one acre, which she left in woodland; and what was still more surprising, she put it under cultivation, tradition charging her with having fearlessly, recklessly and extravagantly, bought seed wheat enough to plant 7 acres of winter grain.





About the year 1761, Thomas Fitzwater, doubtless anxious to get back to his business interests in Upper Dublin, sold "The Waggon Inn" with 40 acres of ground, to Laurance Reemy or Rennach; this ground is said to have included the Taylor place, on the Skip-pack road (at this time Centre Square had grown somewhat and travel from the upper counties had increased—the farmers taking their wheat and salt meats into Philadelphia market). Indeed "mine host," as the landlord was called, could not obtain a license unless he could establish a record for social and moral superiority; moreover the laws of the period made it essential that the tavern must be "within a mile of the church"; this seems shocking to some no doubt, who would gladly place them at the antipodes, but history proves that at this time at least the law was a wise one, as we shall show later; as if in keeping with this custom, the two Colonial churches of Whitpain,—Boehm's, at Blue Bell, and St. John's, at Centre Square,—were erected, as ordained by law, to meet the demands and necessities of the period.

Reemy or Rennach must have become financially embarrassed, for in 1776, we note that "Judah Foulke, High Sheriff of Philadelphia," sold "The Waggon Inn" to John Porter, and he was the landlord when Washington ordered men to stand at guard here with drawn swords, while his army passed on their way to the battle of Germantown, and the military maps, prepared at the time, have the place marked as "The Waggon," no doubt because of its sign, (a Conestoga wagon), while the old hotel at Blue Bell is marked as "The White Horse."

In 1779 John Porter sold "The Waggon Inn," with 38 acres of ground, (evidently reserving two acres), to Benjamin Penrose, who owned it till 1783, when it again came into the possession of the De Haven family,—being owned and operated successively over a period of nine years by the three brothers—Isaac, Samuel and Moses De Haven, sons of the first Samuel De Haven. The buildings, by this time having stood for



35 years, probably owing to neglect, were in sad condition, and in 1797, the De Havens sold to John Wentz.

The old inn at this time in its history must have become involved in a series of "legal hitches," for landlords came and landlords went with surprising readiness. In the same year Wentz sold it to Lenord Styer, who kept the Broad Axe hotel; the Rambo house, Norristown, and, tradition says—another tavern in Philadelphia; Styer evidently being "Inn" all around,—had no intention of "hitching his star" of fortune to "The Waggon" in Whitpain, and promptly passed it on to Stephen Potts for 1200 pounds, or a little less than \$6000, which was an unusual price; thus it will be seen the inn was "in the market" three times within a year. Potts held it two years, and sold to Samuel Ashmead in 1799; and a few years later Ashmead sold to Jacob Hawes, of Worcester, for 727 pounds, less than \$4000. In 1804, Hawes sold to Thomas Humphrey, and with his coming "The Waggon Inn" turned a new leaf in its history, which made it for years a place of importance in township and county affairs.

Thomas Humphreys, who came to Whitpain from Montgomery township, was destined to play a very important part in the growth and advancement of the community; he was a Welsh Baptist, and his father and grandfather had been men aggressively identified with the very earliest history of the adjoining districts.

He was but 26 years of age when he came to Centre Square and purchased 38 acres of ground opposite the "Waggon Inn." Here in 1800 he built a house and opened a store. This house, still standing, but enlarged, is at present owned by Mr. Clifford Bernhard, and the end occupied by Mr. Bernhard as a dwelling is the part which was then built.

Located as it was, along the great road to Philadelphia, no doubt Humphreys did a very thriving business, for very soon he began "buying up the town," and tradition says, "owned all four corners."

In 1804 he purchased the "Waggon Inn," which probably, owing to abnormal conditions brought about





through the war, had become very dilapidated, so he promptly tore it down, and erected another on the same spot where the old one had stood, and where the present one stands.

This property, with something less than 40 acres, according to the authority of court records, cost Humphreys 1225 pounds, or over \$6000. Some years ago the writer of this story, anxious to get information first hand concerning the Centre Square Inn of 1804, wrote to an old gentleman then resident in Salida, Colorado, who had grown to manhood in this locality, asking him for a description of the building, and received a most courteous and satisfactory reply.

According to this authority, Humphreys built a two-story stone house, containing four rooms on the first floor with a kitchen in the rear, the partitions being made of boards, battened, while the roof of shingles, was gambrel in style; the Skippack road being the only one built at the time, of course the house fronted that way, and naturally the bar room, (or tap room, as it was then called), was at the east end, and heated by a great open fire place, and where grog, flip and ale were served from a corner bar, which had shifting slat shutters, as was the fashion of the period. According to my authority, the mason work was done by Edward Roberts, a noted mechanic in his day; and the carpenter work by William Hurst, who at one time lived on the Roynan farm.

Having built a house for the entertainment of the public, in every respect "up to date," Humphreys decided to give it a new name, so discarding the old sign of "The Waggon," he put up another, which represented "The Goddess of Liberty," holding the scales of justice, which must have been greatly admired by the public, as suggestive of the spirit of patriotism which still clung to a people just emerged from a war for freedom on the sea.

Having shown his political colors, Humphreys thinking it well "in times of peace" to "prepare for war," began the organization of military bodies, and brought



them together for training at Centre Square, sparing no pains to bring the place politically and socially to the attention of the public.

In 1805 three important meetings were held here; the first was a meeting of the County Commissioners held to receive bids for the building of the bridge over Oil Mill run, Broad Axe, which was contracted for at a cost of \$1054. (It seems a strange coincidence, that among these commissioners was John Katz, of White-marsh, whose son Albert many years later became the owner of this inn, and tore it down to build the present one.)

The same year (1805) there was a county convention of Federal Republicans held at Centre Square Inn, showing that both the place and its landlord were in good repute with the public, since this political party, then in the ascendant, in an effort to reconstruct the affairs of state, was made up largely of men high in the leadership of the nation.

Just two months later, a meeting was scheduled to be held at Humphrey's Inn, by the combined forces of the Democratic and Republican (sic) parties, to oppose the action of the Federal Republicans, and the bone of contention, between these factions, centered about the question of a liberal or conservative construction of the Constitution. The trouble grew, until finally the country again began drifting toward war; one is naturally led to wonder, how the landlord who welcomed both parties to exchange views, and lay plans against each other at his house, regarded the subject himself; on this question we are not left in doubt, as his subsequent military career, and honors prove.

In 1806, a meeting was held at Centre Square Inn, to consider a suitable site for a County alms house; this meeting was called at the instigation of the Hon. Nathaniel Boileau, of Hatborough, who was then our representative in the Assembly, and influential in connection with many of our early public institutions; tradition claims that the meeting was "very exciting," and feeling for and against Centre Square as a desir-





able locality for the County house ran high; a tradition also exists in this connection, to the effect, that this occasion was responsible for the naming of the place, since there were those present, who, not being geographically "up," on the map of the County, tried to convince the meeting that the strongest argument in favor of placing this institution here, lay in the fact (?) that this was the center of the county; the fathers who knew better, no doubt thought this a joke worth perpetuating, and so retaining the old form of spelling, the hamlet composed of a very few houses, known on all maps as "The Waggon," (it being a common custom at this time to name small places after their inns), now became "Centre Square," not Center Square.

The present fire house, opposite the inn, probably dates back to the same period, as its walls show, and in Humphrey's time was much needed for stabling, both because of the market folks coming from the upper counties, and for the militia trainings, the great affair in those days.

The corner owned by Mr. J. Irvin Yost had evidently been sold by Humphreys to Adam Lutz, one of the early residents of the place; at that time it had on it a log house, built in pre-Revolutionary days, and a blacksmith shop, such always were generally found near early country inns. Adam Lutz built a stone house near the log one which he left stand for many years. Tradition has given us two very interesting stories, regarding two of the good dames who lived in the old stone house, one of which relates to Mary Ann, widow of Adam Lutz, who died there in 1821, having reached the great age of 91 years. She is said to have been a great cook, and always, for some superstitious reason baked 32 loaves of rye bread at one baking, and just as soon as 16 of these had been eaten, she started to bake 32 more; fortunately for her, she lived in the day of bread troughs, home made flour, and no war restrictions.

The other woman, Mrs. Werkheiser, who lived here







OLD BLACKSMITH SHOP, Centre Square, Pa.  
Now Demolished



later, was noted for her extreme ideas on the subject of cleanliness, and her inclination to be perpetually cleaning up before any thing had a chance to become dirty. It is related of her that when the late Isaac Yost, grandfather of Mr. J. Irvin Yost, the present owner of the place, bought it, and Mrs. Werkheiser was compelled to move, as the purchaser wanted to tear down the old stone house, she insisted on coming back to clean it, and no amount of persuasion as to the foolishness of such a procedure could change her determination, and when the men came to demolish the building, she persistently kept at the job, till every floor, cupboard and window, had been thoroughly scrubbed or polished.

We do not consider it inopportune at this time to mention yet another remarkable woman who became mistress of the new house, whom many of us hold in kindly remembrance—commonly spoken of as "Mother Yost"; she, too, reached a great age; was noted for her generous bakings; her unfailing hospitality; her unusual memory, and an originality of character, which distinguished her to the very end of her long life.

In 1800, there were but 771 persons resident in Whitpain township, so naturally its area was not crowded, and the houses on the plantations were somewhat scattered. Within the recognized limits of the present village of Centre Square, extending from Yost's road to the former Brinton farm on the State road; and from Nolan's hill to St. John's church, on the Skippack; there were comparatively few houses, and these mostly built of logs. The Yost farm house; the McGlathery-Famous house; the Wack-Roynan house; the Boehm-Reiff-Nolan house; the Wentz-Morris house, and St. John's parsonage,—described on the assessment records as "stone, two stories high, 35 feet in length by 20 in depth," were the mansion houses of the day. Besides these, there was a log house on St. John's property which many of us remember as having stood as late as 1880; there was another opposite the





old school house; one on the Fisher place; one between the "Waggon Inn" and the Beck-Louden house, one on the Brinton farm, and one on George Murphy's farm. Regarding the latter, a tradition says,—that the floors of the house, owing to their great age, became rather unsafe, and on one occasion when a funeral was held here, quite a panic was created among the mourners, when the floor gave away.

As late as 1850 there were but six houses in the village, beside a machine shop, blacksmith, wheelwright and saddlery shops, a tannery, and a lumber yard. These enterprises, no doubt, were prompted and encouraged by the public spirited landlord, as side lines to the success of his own business. Be that as it may, Thomas Humphreys at this time steps into the lime light as a man of great influence in County affairs, first as captain of artillery, then as the colonel of a battalion, and later he attained the rank of major-general.

It will be remembered that Col. Thomas Humphreys, the landlord of the Waggon Inn, was aggressively interested in political and military affairs; and that conventions of various kinds had been held at his house for the free and open discussion of subjects relative to the best interests of the country in general, and the County in particular. Humphreys profited socially through these events, and especially so in military circles, as is shown in those invaluable records, known as the Pennsylvania Archives; through these we learn that he was a private in the first regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers; was next a member of the Light Dragoons under the Governor; promoted to the 1st Company of cavalry of the city and County of Philadelphia; in 1813 was transferred to the infantry in the Reese Hill Regiment, in the service of the United States; and on October 24th, 1814, was commissioned a colonel.

Quite naturally Whitpain township felt proud of Humphreys' military career, and equally of course, the "Waggon Inn," became noted as the resort of men prominent in patriotic movements; this was especially





OLD TANNERY, Centre Square, Pa.  
Now I. O. O. F. Building



true with reference to military bodies, which then represented the standing army, and made it imperative that the men receive training at given places, and at stated intervals. The "Waggon Inn" was of course the military training point for Whitpain.

In order to fully grasp the situation then existing, as making these trainings essential, we must recall the fact, that after more than a quarter of a century of comparative peace; we were again at war with England, and that while we had had many naval successes, the outcome of our invasion of Canada was not encouraging, for we were not yet in full control of the great lakes. In short we had not finished our war for independence, and this task was left, perhaps unconsciously, by the sires of the Revolution for their sons to complete.

The country had been enjoying a foolish sense of security, and especially so in the rural districts, where the plantation owners were trying to recover their properties from the devastation due to the war of the Revolution. In such case, men of Humphreys' type were an inspiration to our discouraged and struggling citizens.

Col. Humphreys was especially attentive to his military duties in Whitpain, and although at this distance of time we are inclined to imagine that these events were attended with all the dignity which follows the profession of arms, the truth of the matter is that the material with which Humphreys worked was "in the raw," and we have been told by one whose memory went back to those days that on the occasion when the militia trained, there was usually a fine display of horse flesh, but the men, in many cases, were not supplied with rifles or muskets, and in place of these they used pitch-forks, or rakes, which, like the proverbial woman's weapon, the broom, were doubtless handled quite efficiently in manœuvres of a warlike character, yet were hardly calculated to inspire a feeling of respect in the minds of the observers.

We were fortunate enough in connection with our





researches to run across an old law, or rather a record of an amusing character, which refers to the trainings at Centre Square. It sets forth the fact that John Williams entered suit against Henry Jacoby for two days' wages "for drumming the militia to march his (Jacoby's) quota to Col. Humphreys." Williams, proud of his musical accomplishments, was evidently desirous of "fetching up" at the Waggon Inn, in good and proper style, and "beat the men to it," with the vim and energy of a patriotic drummer in the service, only to discover that Jacoby refused to pay the amount asked for, saying that his orders were only, "to march them to Col. Humphreys"; this contention left a nice distinction for the law to consider, and the result was that the plaintiff was awarded \$1.00, and allowed to pay the costs, which, after the constable had insisted on 31 cents for his services, and the justice of the peace had subtracted 49 cents more from the award, left Williams 20 cents in cash, and possibly some ideas on the peculiar intricacies of the law.

What was doubtless the crowning event in the early history of Whitpain and the Waggon Inn, (which now swung the sign of "The Goddess of Liberty"), occurred on July 5th, 1813, when there was a great military demonstration and celebration of the Declaration of Independence held there. For the arrangement and compilation of the details of this interesting affair, the writer is greatly indebted to Mr. William Summers, of Conshohocken, librarian of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, who enjoys the rare privilege of having access to records not always available to the general public. We shall quote them as transcribed by Mr. Summers:

#### CELEBRATION DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, CENTRE SQUARE, JULY 5TH, 1813.

At a meeting of the officers of the 51st regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteers of the militia (1812), and a respectable number of Democratic Republicans of the County of Montgomery at the house of Col. Thomas Humphrey, Centre Square, a celebration was held to celebrate the day that made us a free and independent people.



George Heist, Esq., was appointed president, and Col. Thomas Humphrey, vice-president; the Declaration of Independence was read by Captain Conrad; the company sat down to an excellent dinner prepared for the occasion; after the cloth was removed, the following toasts were drank, accompanied with music and the discharge of cannon.

#### TOASTS

1. "The day we celebrate—May every return find us in full enjoyment of our rights, firmly united and determined to support them." Cheers.
2. "The United States, the independence of which our fathers achieved by true patriotism, we now pledge ourselves to maintain at the risk of our lives." Cheers.
3. "The President and Vice-President of the United States, able statesmen, sound politicians—they will not abuse the confidence the people have placed in them." Cheers.
4. "The Heads of the Departments—May they act with energy due to a powerful and independent people." Cheers.
5. "The Congress of the United States—May their correct principles be justified by works for the general welfare, free from all error." Cheers.
6. "Thomas Jefferson, the inflexible Patriot and Statesman, the author of the Declaration of Independence—May every blessing attend him in retirement." Cheers.
7. "The Union, the mainstay of our independence, the chain that binds Columbia's greatness. May rack or gallows be his portion who wishes to break it." Cheers.
8. "The Memory of the Illustrious George Washington—He made the interest of the people his rule of action—May his genius descend upon our present army, and conduct them to victory." Cheers.
9. "The Navy of the United States—they have astonished the world, and caused the tyrants of the ocean to yield five out of six." Cheers.
10. "The Army of the United States—They have taught the British slaves the superiority of freemen—May they soon proclaim Canada ours." Cheers.
11. "The Governor and Legislature of Pennsylvania—They deserve well of their country." Cheers.
12. "The Congress of '76—May the example set by them be a stimulus to those of 1813." Cheers.
13. "The Militia of Pennsylvania—May they not be disgraced by a Smyth or a Tennehill." Cheers.
14. "American Manufactories—They continue to rise, though planed down by English manufactories—home-spun suits require no chapter." Cheers.
15. "Paulding, Williams and Vanewert—Three honest militiamen above the price of British gold." Cheers.
16. "The Memory of brave Pike and Lawrence, and those who so nobly fought under them." Cheers.
17. "Our Domestic Enemies of Liberty, in the midst of its blessings—May they sink under the frown of Heaven and the destruction of mankind." Cheers.
18. "The American Fair—May their charms be bestowed on friends to their country only." Cheers.

#### VOLUNTEER TOASTS

By the president—"The Patriots of the Revolution—May their posterity ever emulate their virtue."





By the vice-president—"The Militia of Montgomery County—Although not called to defend their country's rights, they will not disgrace the name when opportunity offers."

By Christian Weber, Esq.—"May the 'Spirit of '76' rule our militia, and never sheathe the sword until they have subdued the tyrant of the seas and traitors of their country, and obtained honorable peace."

By Jacob Hause—"Destruction to all Tories and traitors to their country."

By Mordecai Jones—"The 4th of July '76—May it never be forgotten in the United States."

By Mathias Wentz—"The heroes of '76—May their offspring live independent."

By Captain M'Glahtery—"May the sound of the anniversary cannon on the banks of the St. Lawrence, shake the walls of Quebec."

By Captain Weber—"Heaven grant, that our country is decreed to be prosperous in a just and unavoidable war."

By Captain Heist—"The American youth—May they tread the paths of virtue, maintain the independence of their country, and preserve its honor."

By Captain Wentz—"The enemies of our country—May they be tied to the devil's tail; put upon short allowance and pelted by every free born American."

By Major Roberts—Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President of the United States—May our eastern brethren follow her (Pennsylvania) example."

By Lieutenant Johnson—"May our army prove victorious, and hang all Tories and traitors to their country."

By Ensign Laurence—"May happiness and prosperity forever attend the soldier that has the patriotism to defend those dear rights purchased by the blood of our fathers, and the tears of our mothers."

By Lieutenant Summers—"May the wings of Liberty never want a feather."

By Lieutenant Hurst—"May the Volunteers of Montgomery county turn out whenever called upon to defend their country's rights."

Captain Hoover (after the president, George Heist, Esq., had retired)—"The president of the day."

Captain Conrad (after the vice-president had retired)—"Col. Humphreys—He will prove himself worthy of being Lieutenant Colonel and commandant of the 51st regiment in the day of trial."

Col. Humphrey, at this time, raised a company of expert riflemen, known as the "First Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteer Riflemen," to go to camp at Marcus Hook, and he was so successful in the management of military organizations, that Governor Snyder issued an order on September 28th, 1814, to John M. Hyne-man, Esq., Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, by which all the volunteer companies of riflemen in Montgomery county, and the company commanded by Captain Hess, of Northampton county, were attached to Col. Hum-



phrey's regiment, formed into a battalion, and placed under his command. Among the records of the Pennsylvania Archives of this date, we notice under the head of "A Statement of Expenditures for Sustaining the Militia called out for the Defence of Philadelphia and the Surrounding Neighborhood in 1814," that Col. Humphreys' name appears quite frequently as having had supplied to the regiment and companies under his command in camp, wood, forage, beef, artillery and medical supplies, and although other officers have whiskey on their list of necessary expenditures, the landlord of the "Waggon Inn," seemed to have believed in "dry" patriotism, for no item of this nature appears against him as having been furnished for his men, and although Col. Humphrey never lost interest in military affairs, after the conclusion of the war he assumed other duties as of equal importance to the public welfare, and these were of a responsible nature, requiring personal merit of the highest order.

The Montgomery National Bank at Norristown was chartered on March 21st, 1814, with an authorized capital of \$400,000, and the privilege of increasing it to \$600,000. When the first election was held on October 14th, 1815, Col. Thomas Humphrey was chosen as one of the directors, which proves that great confidence was felt in his financial ability and integrity. Col. Thomas Humphrey was, however, not destined to a long career of usefulness, and in the Norristown Herald published on Wednesday, October 9th, 1822, we read the following notice: "Died, on Thursday night last, General Thomas Humphrey, of Montgomery township, Montgomery County."

It will be remembered that Thomas Humphrey had come to Whitpain from Montgomery township, and presumably after the war, for some reason, he had returned to his old neighborhood. At any rate, he is buried in the cemetery adjoining the Montgomery Baptist Church—one of the historic churches of the county, which his forefathers helped to found in 1710. Col. Humphrey was but 48 years of age at the time of his





death, and although comparatively young, his life had been strenuous, and, as the inscription on his tombstone evidences,—fruitful of good results. It reads as follows: "He was constant in his attendance upon the public worship of God, and liberal in supplying the temporal worship of the church. The different military stations to which he was elevated by his fellow creatures he filled with reputation to himself and advantage to his country."

About the year 1824 Samuel Wentz, the landlord of the "Waggon Inn," met a tragic death, and his widow, Eliza (Humphrey) Wentz, continued the business for a number of years thereafter.

At the time of her husband's death she had two small sons, Silas and Thomas; the latter being about four years of age. Nothing daunted by the misfortunes of her early married life, she assumed her double duties with a brave heart, exhibiting at the same time fair judgment and business tact which marked her as a woman among women, at a period when very little credit for these qualifications was given to her sex.

Among other things, she had an intense appreciation of the value of an education, and having given her sons the best which the district schools afforded, she was at great pains to give Thomas, who later became one of the most progressive business men in the county, an academic training.

Not only was she under the necessity of managing the inn, which belonged to her father's estate, but the store opposite as well, since that also belonged to the Humphrey heirs. This she rented, and in 1828 the first postoffice in Whitpain was established there with James Bush, as postmaster, who, no doubt, was also storekeeper at the time.

Some years later, however, we find Daniel and Jacob Reiff, sons of John Reiff, of Whitpain, in charge of the store, and this partnership lasted until about 1840, when, for some reason, they decided to make a change, Daniel going west, while Jacob followed farming.

In this emergency Eliza Humphrey Wentz, seeing in





this lapse of tenants, an opportunity for her son Thomas—who was now ready to assume with her some of life's responsibilities—decided to add storekeeping to her other business. Young Wentz was noted for his uniform courtesy, his good judgment and his strict honesty, and in a very short time had business "booming." He saw further, that this was an opportune time for offering building material to the public, since planed lumber, as over against hand-hewn timber was a luxury to be appreciated, and so he opened a lumber yard back of the store and did a thriving business. In connection with this an amusing story was told us, years ago, by an old resident of Whitpain. It seems that young Wentz was pushed for help, and in his extreme necessity, hired a colored man to help haul lumber, and as he was the first colored man ever seen in the community, the neighbors objected to the innovation, and held an "indignation meeting" for the purpose of getting up a petition asking Wentz to discharge him. It seems, however, that the man did something displeasing to Wentz, and received his dismissal before the indignant and scandalized neighbors had time to demand it.

Up to this time bricks for building purposes in our country were frequently imported from England, (a sample of which can be seen in the black bricks of John Morris' home, built in 1762, by young Wentz's grandfather), and it now occurred to this enterprising young man that his lumber yard might be supplemented by something else in the building line, and so he opened a brick yard at Centre Square, back of the store property.

Although strictly attentive to his own business affairs, Thomas Wentz was also interested in the welfare of the community; and when the Centre Square lodge of Odd Fellows was organized on December 22nd, 1846, he was elected Noble Grand, although at that time but 26 years of age.

In 1847 he married Isabella Boyer, of Penn Square, and in 1851 he took title to the "Waggon Inn" from his mother and aunt—heirs to the Humphrey estate,



and in 1853, after more than half a century of continuous ownership by one family, he sold it to Wells Tomlinson, a Norristown drover, and about two years later the store property opposite was sold to Ephraim Shearer, of Whitpain.

As Thomas Wentz by birth and ancestry, belonged to Centre Square, it might be interesting to state that, when leaving there he moved to Norristown, and there carried on an extensive lumber trade. In 1855 he bought a boat and transported his timber by canal directly from the lumber districts and later when the East Pennsylvania Agricultural and Mechanical Society failed, he bought the buildings and converted them into a great brick yard, and there he made nearly all the bricks used in the State Asylum. He died in 1883, leaving two sons, Silas and Henry—the latter well known in Norristown.

Tomlinson, who now owned the "Waggon Inn," sold it two years later to Enos Hoxworth, another drover, and from that time on it became sort of a cattle bazaar; the farmers for miles around came here to buy in "fine York State cattle," and sometimes also brought their own to be auctioned off at public sale. Hoxworth had paid \$6000 for the place, and in 1857 he sold it to Joel Wentz for \$6500, who at the outbreak of the Civil War sold to Jesse Fisher—who died here. In 1866 it passed into the hands of William Hood; during the same year he passed title to Charles Fillman, who, the following year (1867), sold out to Albert Katz, of Whitpain. Mr. Katz found the buildings in very bad condition; he tore them down and erected the present modern and substantial building. At the time of his purchase the 150 acres of ground originally belonging to the inn, had been reduced to 21 acres, and that lying mostly up the Skippack road, including all on the same side of the road as the hotel, as far as the Gimrod place, excepting only the Taylor farm. In 1882 Mr. Katz sold the inn with five acres of ground to William C. Blackburn for \$12,000. In 1886 Mr. Blackburn sold the property to Ellen Eacock, of Philadelphia, for \$14,000, and then





moved to Ambler. In 1887 Mrs. Eacock sold to Elwood Hart, of Conshohocken, who in 1893 sold to Albert Mauck for \$15,000. In 1899 Mauck sold to William Baird for \$16,000. He died the following year and his executors sold to Mr. Snyder in 1903. In 1906 Snyder sold to Eben Clark for \$17,500, and in 1907 it was again sold presumably for \$18,000 to Christian Illi, of Philadelphia.

About this time a trolley line was built between Lansdale and Norristown, and this at first passed directly in front of the inn, and greatly increased the value of the property, so Illi sold it to Mr. Snyder, who had owned it a few years earlier.

Charles Spaeth, of Philadelphia, became the next owner. He had the sign "Centre Square Hotel" removed, and put up a new sign with a Conestoga wagon on it, and below this the original and Colonial name of the place, i. e., "The Waggon Inn." As he catered to automobilists and served elaborate dinners, which won a wide reputation, he later turned what is now "the fire house," into a garage.

Mr. Spaeth appreciated, and tried to make others appreciate, the historic interest which centered about this, the oldest public house in Whitpain, (excepting perhaps the "White Horse Tavern" at Blue Bell, which is also marked on maps of the Revolutionary period), and so had large sign boards painted and placed along the Skippack and State roads, on which was given the date of its founding (1759), and under the picture of a Conestoga wagon, was the name of the place in the original spelling, "Waggon Inn." He also had souvenirs made with "Waggon Inn" printed on them, some of which are among the collection of interesting things in the museum of the Historical Society at Norristown. Owing to poor health, Mr. Spaeth sold the hotel in 1913 to Mr. Shantz, who in turn sold to Mr. Goetner, and the latter disposed of it to Harry Cassel.



## JEMIMA WILKINSON

### "The Universal Friend"

By HOWARD W. KRIEBEL

It is the object of this paper to call brief attention to one of the many back-eddies that have at all times been connected with the mighty river of Christian faith.

The sketch embraces data drawn from various sources, often in the language of the authorities themselves without assuming responsibility for the statements made or attempting to explain them.

It may be in place to preface this paper on Jemima Wilkinson by a quotation:—

"Her life, conduct and professions present a chapter of contradictions and a series of gross absurdities. Her followers believed her to be their saviour; many charitably disposed persons are of the opinion that she labored under a partial mental derangement and was herself the victim of an unfortunate delusion by which she was deceived into the belief that she was constituted by divine appointment to be a special messenger of grace and mercy to a lost and dying world; others there are and by far the greater number of those who knew her who believed her to have been a canting hypocrite, pretending to a character which she knew she did not possess, and that the principal object of her labors was to secure the means of gratifying her own appetites. The first supposition cannot be true; the second is possible and the last probable."

Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Providence County, Rhode Island, November 29, 1752, and died in Jerusalem, near Penn Yan, New York, July 1, 1819. She was the daughter of Jeremiah Wilkinson and his wife, Elizabeth Amey Whipple, and the great-granddaughter of Laurence Wilkinson, immigrant to New England about 1649. The eighth of twelve children; she lost her mother, by death, when Jemima was about fourteen years old.

Her mother, a member of the society of Friends, was an amiable and intelligent woman, an exemplary housewife and an affectionate mother. Her father, a birth-right member of society of Friends also, was a





farmer of moderate estate, good character, strong nature and firm ability—some say “of stubborn disposition, who made a merit of despising politer accomplishments.” The loss of his wife proved a great affliction to him so that towards the end of his days he became melancholy and spent the greater part of his life in solitude.

In her young days Jemima was not remarkably plastic to control by her older sisters. She was very fond of dress and gay company. She was rather the ruler than the ruled in the family. Her education was that common to the children of New England in that day; her reading covered poetry, romance, current news and light literature. At sixteen she was sprightly in manner and comely in person. Flattery, persuasion, pretenses of ill-health, stubbornness, negligence were resorted to, to escape the drudgery of household duties. About this time she left home to become a seamstress. Her impatience of restraint; her total aversion to any regular employment and her ungovernable temper began to make their appearance and at length rendered her longer sojourning with her new acquaintances altogether inadmissible, and she was dismissed and sent home after a ten-month effort.

Having passed “sweet seventeen,” she was extremely gay and listless, given to idleness at home and amusement abroad. She gained complete ascendancy in her family which was maintained through life, and sought exemption from the cares and confinement of domestic life, impeded by an insatiable ambition for parade and superiority. At the same time her ripening beauty, quick temper, sharp wit and elegant person procured admirers.

When Jemima was in her twentieth year, the entire family, except herself, had a severe attack of fever and after their recovery she was attacked; her sickness became severe and protracted; at times her life even being despaired of. In the extremity of her illness her friends had assembled around her bedside to witness her death, when, as she affirmed, it was revealed to her





that she must raise her dead body. She arose from her bed, October, 1776, after a year's seclusion, and kneeling by its side, made a fervent prayer, called for her clothing and announced that her carnal existence had ended; that henceforth she was both divine and spiritual. The religious meetings conducted by the celebrated George Whitfield, which she had attended during the summer of 1775, probably helped to bring this change about, re-enforced by a year's reflection in comparative seclusion.

"She had previously pretended to see visions and would recount to those with her the wonderful revelations which had been made to her. But now she claimed she had died and had been raised from the dead; that her carnal existence was ended and henceforth her life was to be spiritual and divine, that she—who was once Jemima Wilkinson—was dead and in heaven, and that her 'tabernacle' which appeared to them, had been reanimated by the spirit and power of Jesus Christ, and had become the friend of all mankind or the 'Universal Friend'; that she was endowed with the power of prophecy and miracles; that this was the second coming of the Lord who was to remain on earth and reign a thousand years; that the eleventh hour had come; that the tabernacle she inhabited was immortal; that it would never die, and that at the close of a thousand years it would be taken up into heaven in a cloud of glory."

Though these views were not systematically set forth by her, they entered into the web and woof of her doctrine.

The Sunday following her trance, she delivered a discourse in her own community.

"Her feeble voice, her graceful gestures, her pale face, her persuasive language, the mild expression of her fine eyes, together with the marvelous story of her sickness—visions, and strange recovery, produced a lasting impression upon her hearers." (Hudson).

The weeks following she attended all the public meetings and funerals in the community and spoke wherever opportunity presented itself. Soon she called meetings of her own which proved successful. She adopted the doctrine and practices of the Friends and promulgated the Shaker practice of celibacy. Her fame spread, and invitations to preach were extended. As a result she conducted meetings at various places in Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts and a few houses of worship were erected by her converts.



She visited the British troops stationed at Newport, where an officer pretended to fall deeply in love with her and obtained several private interviews. They agreed that he should resign his commission and return to his estate—to be followed by her. Thereupon Jemima announced that she was to preach peace and benevolence to the people of another country and necessary preparations were made for the proposed trip, one man alone giving one thousand dollars for the purpose. When about ready to sail, she saw, by a newspaper, that her pretended lover had deceived her and had been killed in battle. She then told her followers that she had had a new vision that she was not to go abroad and the trip was abandoned.

She made proselytes among the rich and influential, seemingly with plan and purpose. Her mode of life made necessary considerable outlays of money, hence her effort to reach men of means. Among these was Judge Potter, of Rhode Island, a man of great means, who became her enthusiastic and devoted follower. For the more comfortable accommodation of herself and her adherents, he built a large addition to his already spacious mansion, containing fourteen rooms and bedrooms with suitable fireplaces. Her influence controlled his household servants, and the income of his great estates. She made it her headquarters for about six years.

In the summer of 1782 she started for Philadelphia, Pa., accompanied by five of her most useful and devoted followers—to labor among the Friends. Her arrival caused a sensation and aroused curiosity in that city. She was even drawn through the streets by men after they had detached the horses from the carriages. She was soon preaching to thousands, was granted the use of St. George M. E. Church and received the gift of a carriage for her own use.

Reverend Abraham Supplee, of the Bethel Methodist Church, in Worcester township, Montgomery County, Pa., invited Jemima to come to his place. She came, a misunderstanding followed and she accepted





the invitation of David Wagener to come to his house, arriving there October 19, 1782. She received an enthusiastic welcome and met with much success. To keep alive the faith of her followers she returned to Rhode Island after a brief stay in Worcester.

She returned to Wagener's place, August 28, 1784, where a fine farm with an elegant stone mansion was set apart for the use of herself and her attendants. During this stay, lasting about nine months, she visited Philadelphia and other parts of the State—always supplied with carriages and attendants at the expense of the society which she had organized at Worcester. She returned to Rhode Island in the Spring of 1785 and later sent her sister to take charge of her affairs at Worcester. One account says that she fastened herself upon a considerable number of the unsuspecting residents of Worcester as a prophetess, and, in fact, as a messenger from Heaven, in whose hands was the absolute disposal of their doctrines, and led them to believe that their future happiness or misery depended upon their faith in the divinity of her character and persons.

One of the female adherents of the Universal Friend—as Jemima Wilkinson called herself—resided in the family of the Treasurer of Rhode Island from whose home \$2000 disappeared, accompanied by the sudden departure for Pennsylvania of the Universal Friend and a few of her friends. They arrived at Wagener's place, December, 1787, followed by messengers from the State Treasurer demanding the return of the money. She denied all knowledge of the money but eight hundred dollars were found in her trunks and the rest of the money was refunded by her friends. As a result many of her followers became disgusted and abandoned the society. The faithful ones, a little later, emigrated to the Tennessee country and New York, and the society in Rhode Island was effectually broken up.

Some time after the hasty flight, an adherent of the Worcester Society who had forsaken the body and



returned to her home in Philadelphia, was visited by a committee who urged her to return to the faith. She declined to return and in addition told the committee that officers of the law were coming to arrest the Universal Friend on a number of charges. The committee at once returned to Worcester and the same night Jemima and two faithful friends fled. By seven o'clock the next morning the fleeing ones reached the Bushkill stream, above Easton, Pa., fifty miles away. Through misunderstanding they unwisely tried to cross the swollen stream. The result was that their effects were swept away; the passengers were almost drowned and the announced trip to the New Jerusalem in New York had, for the present, to be abandoned. She returned to Worcester where she had to explain her sudden departure and early return which she did quite successfully. But, alas! Among the personal effects lost in the Bushkill was a thirty dollar beaver hat of the Universal Friend for the return of which she offered a reward of ten dollars. The hat was found, brought to Worcester, but payment was refused for the watersoaked head-dress and the finder in revenge gave away the story of the unfortunate crossing of the Bushkill which they had tried so hard to conceal.

The Universal Friend, accompanied by a number of friends finally left Worcester April, 1789, for the Tennessee settlement; they then numbered almost three hundred that had come from Connecticut, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. During her last residence at Worcester she and her household subsisted entirely on the means of David Wagener. They enjoyed the use of his best dwelling, two of his farms with all the stock and utensils and had in their employ the greater part of the time from twelve to fourteen of his horses and wagons without money and without price, and which they used with far less care and economy that is usual with the owners of such property. The clothing of the household was of the finest and most expensive and purchased almost exclusively with Wagener's money.





A writer says:—

“Hurried on from one step to another, without sufficiently reflecting upon the consequences which must necessarily ensue, the foundation of his ruin was laid before he was aware of it. His property was dissipated, his business deranged and himself loaded with debt which he could not discharge without sacrificing his real estate. After striving for nearly three years to redeem his shattered fortune he at length sank under the pressure of his embarrassments.”

David Wagener, on the testimony of his son Abraham, was not a follower of the Universal Friend. He thought her a very good woman, and aided her in many ways, but he never claimed to be a member of her society. Financially, he was seemingly almost ruined by her. He sold in 1788 to his sister, Anna, the 224 acre farm he had bought in 1781 and to David Styer in 1797 the two farms inherited from his father, containing 179 acres. He would hardly have retained his two farms for seven years had he been as deeply involved in debt as the writer quoted pictures.

The house erected for the Universal Friend in 1790, near Lake Geneva, east of Penn Yan—was the first frame house in Western New York. Her permanent place of residence, several miles west of Penn Yan, commenced in 1809, was completed in 1814 with money furnished by Anna, an unmarried sister of David Wagener. Fourteen hundred acres of land were purchased for Jemima, and she owned several small farms in addition. The proceeds from these were used to acquire additional lands. Three successive attempts were made to arrest her. Long litigation followed her and her society and some of her early adherents became later her bitter enemies. Her household in New Jerusalem consisted of Sarah Richards, and daughter Eliza; Rachel Malin, and four or five male, and nine or ten female domestics—in all about eighteen persons—doing all her drudgery both within the house and outside, being content to receive for their services a mere subsistence in addition to the happiness of being near the beloved Friend. Her house and grounds were always models of order, neatness and thrifty life. She personally directed and controlled the operations of







JEMIMA WILKINSON (Insert)  
Her Home at Penn Yarn, New York



the farm, and would often ride from field to field on horseback and point out the work to be done.

Jemima had many visitors, among whom were sometimes strangers of distinction, who having heard of her fame from afar, called to gratify their curiosity or to become acquainted with a person who had been the subject of much speculation and enquiry. These she never failed to entertain with the greatest hospitality, and always strove to impress them with favorable opinions of herself as divine. The expenses were met by her followers without murmur. She continued to preach to her followers regularly until a short time before her death, either at her own house or at different parts of the settlement. On account of claims made by her the Grand Jury of Ontario County presented an indictment against her for blasphemy, but she was never arraigned upon this indictment.

Her last sickness was dropsy. In later life she grew fleshy and corpulent, and as her disease was peculiarly painful, her fortitude in suffering without a murmur becomes the more remarkable. At her death, July 1, 1819, her friends faced a puzzling problem in view of her claims as divine and immortal, but the natural course of things in a few days brought the solution that could not be doubted. She had indeed died and her body had to be laid away in a grave. A few of the more intelligent part of her flock had expected that her disease would end her earthly career and were prepared for the event. They therefore admitted and lamented the departure of the "Friend." The major part, however, could not, and did not believe that she was dead or that she had departed until—compelled to believe by the stern reality. She was interred, and re-interred on her own grounds; her remains finally found rest in an unmarked grave of the Penn Yan cemetery.

A few extracts from writers touching her appearance and her unique personality may be in place at this point. She is said to have been naturally austere, often





tyrannical, extremely exclusive, unscrupulous and indomitable in will.

"She is about the middle size of a woman, not genteel in her person, rather awkward in her carriage, her complexion good, her eyes remarkably black and brilliant, her hair black and waving with beautiful ringlets upon her neck and shoulders. Her features are regular and the whole of her face is thought by many to be perfectly beautiful. As she is not supposed to be of either sex, so this neutrality is manifested in her personal appearance. She wears no cap, letting her hair hang down as has been described. She wears her neckcloth like a man, her chemise is buttoned around the neck and wrists. Her outside garment is a robe, under which it is said, she wears an expensive dress, the fashion of which is made to correspond neither with that of man or woman. Her understanding is not deficient, except touching her religious fanaticism. Her memory is very great. Her preaching has very little connection and is very lengthy, at times, cold and languid, but occasionally lively, zealous and animated."—The Connecticut Magazine, 1787.

"She is constantly engaged in personating the part she assumed; she descanted in a sanctimonious, mystic tone, on death and on the happiness of having been an instrument to others in the way of salvation. Her hypocrisy may be traced in all her discourses, actions and conduct and even in the very manner in which she manages her countenance."—Duke de Liancourt.

"Her real character was a mixed one. Her first incentives were the imaginations of a mind highly susceptible of religious enthusiasm and strongly tinctured with the supernatural and spiritual. . . . The physical energies prostrated by disease, the dreamy mind went out and following its inclinations, wandered in celestial spheres and in a rapt vision, created an image, something to be or to personate. Disease abating; consciousness returning; this image had made an impress upon the mind not to be readily effaced. She became an enthusiast; after events made her an impostor. . . . If she was conscious herself of imposition, as we must suppose she was, her perseverance was most extraordinary. Never through her long career did she for one moment yield the pretensions she made upon the rising from her sick bed and going out upon her mission."—Wilkinson Memoirs.

"She pretended that she had been dead, then reanimated with a celestial spirit and endowed with an extraordinary commission from heaven to preach the Gospel. She sometimes called herself the Comforter; and sometimes when in an audience of great numbers, pointing to herself, said that when Jesus Christ first appeared He came in the flesh of man, but that he is now come in the flesh of a woman."—Pres. Manning of Rhode Island College.

"One of the most singular and remarkable characters of modern history she has been treated as an impostor. A conscious impostor she could not have been; for sincerity, earnestness, probity and undeviating consistency were the conspicuous elements of her character. Her ministry of forty-three years was an unvarying assertion of the same claims, without a lapse, or a single act or expression that could be con-



strued into an indication that she was actuated by purposes of chicanery."—S. C. Cleveland.

"The essential mental state underlying her public acts was one of delusional insanity. The history of the act; the all-sufficient cause, especially when considered in connection with the patient's disposition and surroundings; the fostering circumstance of her seclusion with only the Bible for a companion; the undoubted hysteria in her feigned illness; her impaired bodily nutrition at that time; the trance which marked the climax of the attack and the consistently insane character of her expressed delusions together form to my mind very clear evidence of the genuineness of Jemima's insanity."—Dr. Frost in *American Journal of Insanity*.

At meetings the Friend would enter, sit for a few moments, lay off her hat, kneel and pray aloud fervently for some time, and after remaining seated in silence for a few moments speak generally from an hour to an hour and a half. In her open air exhortations, as she called her public speaking, she always stood upon a large platform built to mount her horse from, and the gentlemen of her society would take turns as a privilege to hold an umbrella over her head while preaching. No singing or melodies were allowed in her meetings and instead of cultivating a cheerful or lively expression of the feelings of piety and devotion, a surly gravity and mysterious gloom was inculcated, and during their hours of worship her congregation exhibited a group of the most devout looking faces that can well be imagined.

She rejected with disdain all forms and ceremonies; all church government and discipline, and finally—the sacraments, and many other leading doctrines of Christianity. Her society was composed of dissenters from other denominations—those who had been suspended or excluded from church membership—a few unprincipled adventurers, and a still greater number of weak men and women and inexperienced girls and children.

Jemima conceived the idea of converting the Indians to the faith of her divinity, and on several occasions made advances towards them for that purpose. While commissioners of an Indian treaty at Canandaigua were in session she suddenly entered the Council Hall and without any previous notice or introduction commenced praying most vehemently. Her poor success in





this enterprise did not, however, discourage her from making further attempts. Joseph Brant, the renowned chieftain, addressed the Friend in three Indian languages she did not understand and then said to her, you are not the person you pretend to be; Jesus Christ can understand one language as well as another. (The Friend claimed to be in her person the Saviour of the world in His second appearance on earth).

On a certain Sunday the husband of one of the women of her society, being displeased with her interference in his family affairs came to her services, with a dried fox-skin mounted upon his head for a hat, with the head of the animal for the top and the stiff feet projecting out in front over his face. Jemima quoted the words:—

“Now there was a day, when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord and Satan came also among them.”

At one time she shrewdly staged a resurrection. Things were all ready for the pronouncing of the words to the living corpse when an officer commanded her to stop until he had run his sword through the coffin, and after that he would guarantee her beloved apostle would never rise again. The man in the coffin having heard the officer's remarks, forced off the cover of the coffin and came forth to the no small terror of some and the astonishment of all present.

She prohibited matrimony among her followers as unlawful and as an abomination unto the Lord. Wives abandoned their husbands and husbands their wives where only one of them belonged to her society—many families were broken up for a season, some entirely ruined where both husband and wife were members they were permitted to live together, but to Jemima children were an abomination and an occasion for lamentation. Mrs. Wagener gave birth to a live and lovely daughter. Jemima told Mr. and Mrs. Wagener that they ought to lament this deplorable fall from grace as long as they lived and insisted on naming the child “Lamentation,” and Lament the child was named,





and was so known all her life. When the next daughter was born Jemima declared this an abomination and insisted that the child be name "Abomination." Mrs. Wagener accused her of cruelty and malevolence; said her scheme of religion was a mere system of fraud, avarice and imposition, and her opposition to matrimony was dictated by spleen and envy—and ordered her out of the house.

Jemima Wilkinson was a direct means of settling present Yates County, N. Y., and, in fact, Western New York, and of bringing into the new community the following family names gleaned from the list of members of the society:—Aldrich, Bartleson, Barnes, Botsford, Briggs, Brown, Davis, Doolittle, Gardner, Guernsey, Hall, Hazard, Harris, Hathaway, Holmes, Hunt, Ingraham, Kenyon, Kenney, Luther, Malin, Mallory, Nichols, Niles, Perry, Potter, Richards, Smith, Spink, Stone, Sisson, Turpin, Tripp, Wagener, Weaver, Willard, Whipple and Wilkinson. There were enough Pennsylvanians among these settlers to impress their name upon the name of the town they founded, now the county seat, Penn Yan—Pennsylvania Yankee.

The membership of her society whose birth prophesied its death probably never numbering more than three hundred, dwindled down with her passing away and soon was only a matter of history, a memory, a tradition.

The name Wagener is indelibly impressed on the community. Penn Yan, built on Wagener's ground, has its Wagener street, its Wagener apple, its Wagener Memorial Chapel in the cemetery whose first acres were presented to the community by David Wagener, whose ashes were the first to be there interred.

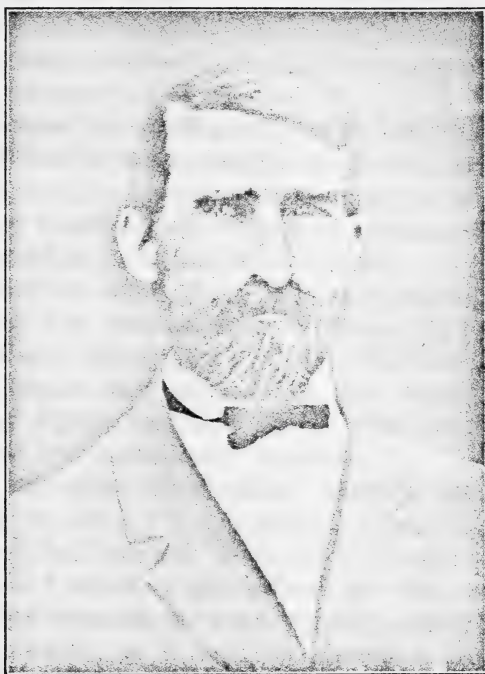
The society of Jemima Wilkinson has passed away. The Mormon Bible was said to have been found in the Golden Mountain, less than fifty miles from Penn Yan. This faith unlike that of the Universal Friend, has survived persecution and exile and prosperity, and has spread out to become a force, a ruling force in our western states; a power in our nation; a dictator to our



political parties; an international evil and disgrace. The Fates do spin mysterious destinies for the children of men.







ROBERT ROBINSON SCOTT



## ROBERT ROBINSON SCOTT

Botanist, Writer, Patriot;  
Laborer in—and Discoverer of the Unique Plant  
of Montgomery County, Pa.

By EDWIN C. JELLETT

In a decade, with the year 1850 as a centre, there appeared in the vicinity of Bartram Garden, Philadelphia, a group of notable gardeners, florists, and botanists, who were destined to write their names upon their adopted "country's page."

These men were not attracted to the locality by the fame of John Bartram, nor by the floral remains of the garden serving to keep alive a memory of better things, nor by the traditions surviving to enhance the charms of a surpassing historic neighborhood.

Before they came, John Bartram and the glory of his garden had passed, and William Bartram, Alexander Wilson, John Lyon, Andre Michaux, Frederick Pursh, Thomas Say, with other less conspicuous contemporary lights had left Darby road and its pleasures, to be "no more seen" forever.

From the pike Maximilian Leech's once familiar form, had vanished; Kingsessing's favorite resort and Isaac Leech had parted without its master; "Wilson's schoolhouse," showing the effects of time and ill-use, stood by the wayside between the hills quietly awaiting its doom; while on a near-by elevation to the west, William Young, the rival and supplanter of John Bartram, lay sleeping in the shades of the little burying ground bearing his name, his active brain projected. The onward stream had onward flowed, a new generation of notables had moved into view, and the succeeding attraction to plant-growers and plant-lovers of the period new lay not in a sympathetic appreciation of the richness of the past, but more directly was fixed in Rosedale nurseries established in 1848 by Robert Buist,



an outgrowth of a business begun at Twelfth and Lombard streets, Philadelphia, here in a new field enlarging itself within sight of Landreth's seed farm across the river, and almost within sound of its once noted, and more widely known predecessor lately conducted by Col. Robert Carr, now abandoned, and as a rural retreat occupied by Andrew M. Eastwick.

The proprietor of the rising nurseries of Rosedale was a remarkable man, whom we may not stop long to consider. "Who and what he was, future generations will know without" this reference. Robert Buist was a careful man, as honest as the sun, upright in all his dealings, decided in his views, neither in business, politics or religion tolerating interference, active and aggressive, as thoroughly liked and disliked as any man known to me to have lived in the district of "Paschal." With this summary we shall proceed, and content ourselves with two flash-light views of opposite and typical sides of his character.

A few years ago, while walking along Darby road, I came upon a congenial brother resting against an abandoned anvil, leaning upon a stick, and sunning himself at a "smithy" near "Sorrel Horse Hotel."

Seating myself beside him, I, among other questions, asked:

"Did you know Robert Buist?"

"Robert Buist?" he replied.

"Yes, I knew him well; he was a hard task-master."

"Did you ever work for him?" I continued.

"Me work for him?" he answered in disdain. "No, I wouldn't work for him; no man could do enough for him."

The contrary side was this. Robert Buist supplied the eastern North America with not only some of its best plants, but as well, he also made it an object to furnish it with able gardeners, and to him more than to any other man are we indebted for the high class of horticultural talent settling in and near Philadelphia. But better than this, Robert Buist gave employment to many a gardener he did not need, to enable





him to "tide over," until he could secure a position suitable to his knowledge and ability. Among the many who thus entered Rosedale on coming to America were William Bright, grape culturist and proprietor of Logan Nursery; our after distinguished Prof. Thomas Meehan, who came to Philadelphia in the year 1848, and Robert Robinson Scott, who at a later period, to distinguish himself from a fellow horticulturist of same name located at Nineteenth and Catherine streets, Philadelphia, signed himself R. Robinson Scott—the subject of our sketch.

R. Robinson Scott was born at Belfast, Ireland, in the year 1827, of which place his relatives were among its most wealthy and influential citizens. He was given a thorough education, and "in the knowledge of ancient and modern languages he particularly excelled" wrote Thomas Meehan, and "in every branch of learning he had few superiors." Being in early life fond of flowers, he determined to devote himself to botany and horticulture, and in pursuit of this he entered the Botanic Gardens of Glasnevin, near Dublin, where, following the prescribed course of studies, he under the patronage of Dr. Mitten, a celebrated Irish botanist, was advanced to Kew College, London, then under the care of the distinguished Dr. Joseph Hooker.

Before Scott had been at Kew many months, he became "acquainted with every plant in its large collection, and the botanical relations of entirely unknown plants would be at once recognized by him." At Kew Scott followed the "even tenor of his way" until the rise of the "Young Ireland Party," when, like his father, being an ardent patriot, he abandoned his profession for a time to take an active part in the Smith-O'Brien Rebellion. "An oration on what has England done for Ireland," "delivered to an excited throng of some thousands, and in the poetic language of which he was so complete a master, was pronounced one of the most wonderful pieces of oratory of the time. It was the more remarkable as coming from one hardly out of his teens, and of so small a stature, and juvenile



appearance, as to appear much younger than he really was."

Upon the failure of the struggle, Scott decided to come to America, and in the same year as Thomas Meehan, his friend and fellow student at Kew, he entered the employ of Robert Buist, near Darby. Always ambitious and progressive, and possessing superior literary talents, he, like Thomas Meehan, soon launched out for himself, and April 21, 1852, he presented to the public the first number of "The Philadelphia Florist," an illustrated monthly magazine devoted to horticulture, botany and kindred sciences, published at 212 Market street, Philadelphia, a journal which, if it had proved as successful financially as it proved itself in other respects, would have left "no room in the United States for another magazine of like character." So wrote the editor of "The Gardeners' Monthly." After a struggle of three years, the magazine was discontinued, owing to lack of sufficient support.

One examining Scott's magazine will be surprised with its literary excellence, and the high standard of its color illustrations, the whole comparing favorably with the best of similar work of the present day.

Relieved of the burden of publication, Scott continued his literary labors by writing for agricultural and horticultural papers, and also did work of a more permanent character, the "Year Book of the Farm and Garden for 1860," published by A. M. Spangler, being almost in its entirety written by him. Scott's style was attractive, and his writings were illumined by a knowledge beyond that required for the immediate object before him, so that while thoroughly reliable, his work was charged with a quality which few of his contemporaries could equal, and possessed a charm rare to writings of a technical or practical nature. While Scott was engaged in this work he also acted professionally as landscape gardener, and in connection with other interests handled scientific magazines





and books. A circular issued by him in 1858 reads as follows:

"R. Robinson Scott, having for the past ten years been engaged in horticultural pursuits in this country, as a nurseryman and gardener, is prepared to give reliable information to planters and fruit cultivators in all sections of the United States, in relation to the varieties of fruit and ornamental trees adapted to their localities. Trees and plants can also be supplied of all varieties in cultivation in the leading nurseries of this country and Europe. Seeds of indigenous plants and shrubs collected for the European trade. Planting, and laying out of grounds. Standard works on horticulture and periodicals supplied. Refer to R. Patterson Kane, Philadelphia; P. R. Freas, Germantown, Pa.; Ellwanger & Barry, Rochester, N. Y.; T. C. Maxwell, Geneva, N. Y.; J. W. De Grauw, Brooklyn, N. Y.; P. P. Mead, New York City; W. L. Steele, Rockingham, N. C. R. Robinson Scott, Philadelphia."

At the period whereof I write, the Darby road enthusiasts formed a kind of "community" for social and intellectual intercourse. Its members kept in touch, frequently met, and almost weekly made excursions into distant parts in search of new plants. Those who thus met were Thomas Meehan, who meantime had given up the foremanship of Buist's nurseries to become head of "Bartram Garden," and who while Scott was conducting "The Philadelphia Florist," in Bartram's "potting shed" was engaged in writing his "Handbook of Ornamental Trees"; William Hobson, boarding with Nathan Brignall, located on present Fifty-sixth street, west of Darby road, he an active worker who raised house plants for "market," whose favorite stand was the pavement of "Arch Street Meeting," Arch street, near Third, Philadelphia, upon which, while following his vocation, he dropped dead in after years; William De Hart, a willow basket maker and an untiring plant collector, whose garden on Darby road, opposite Bartram's lane, surviving him, is yet noted for its many rare and beautiful plants; Robert Kilvington, a florist of Nineteenth and Race streets, Philadelphia, who after lived near "Leech's Hollow"; and R. Robinson Scott, who dwelt on Darby road, adjoining Reilly's Hotel, and directly in front of William Hobson's greenhouses.

This coterie of botanical students usually on Sun-



days and holidays visited the better gardens near, explored the country to the south and west of Darby, visited the Schuylkill and Wissahickon valleys to the north, and occasionally made extended trips into the fascinating wilds of southern New Jersey.

Passing minor details and local lore most interesting, we shall move towards our mark in Scott, and endeavor to show his connection with the fern, which so long as botanical nomenclature is preserved will be linked with his name. After the discontinuance of his magazine, Scott, as we have noted, engaged in several enterprises, traveling about the country attending to professional work, selling nursery stock, and writing for horticultural publications. About the year 1856 he left Philadelphia for a period to enter the employ of Ellwanger & Barry, of Rochester, N. Y., he continuing with this and other firms, taking an active part in the annual trade conventions, until the year 1860, when his health failing and the intensity of literary work becoming too severe, he returned to Philadelphia to take a position at Fort Washington, Montgomery county, Pa., which place he soon left to become head gardener to Algernon P. Roberts, whose gardens were situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill river, overlooking Pencoyd Iron Works.

While in New York State, Scott's ability immediately placed him in the front rank of his profession, and at the summer meeting of the Fruitgrowers' Association of Western New York, held at Rochester, September 18 and 19, 1857, we find him taking an active part in the discussions, and by one of his specialties being reported as follows:

"R. R. Scott stated that the *oidium tuckerii*, or grape mildew, had been fully experimented with, both as to cause and cure. The pear blight, which also causes the crackling of the fruit, and the dark blotches often observed, was known to scientific men as a fungus of a different family, called, when found on the pear, *helmenthosforum pyrorum*, or pear fungus, and when found on the apple, or service tree, *actinema cratoegi*, or *actinema porni* of another botanist. It was also known as the *cladosporum dendriticum* of wallroth, and is found in the tissues at an early stage of growth, afterwards rupturing the cuticle and destroying in this way the adjacent





tissues. The dark section of the fungus tube did not easily yield to sulphur applications, at least not so easily on the oidiums or white species, but is confidently believed that early and judicious application of sulphur will counteract the progress of this pest."

At this same meeting Scott was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate and report upon "the causes of leaf blight in the pear," and this report was presented by him at the society's meeting held January 5 and 6, 1859.

At Pencoyd, Scott again took his place in the "circle" which distance for a time compelled him to abandon, and it was a strange and pleasing coincidence that John Colflesh,—whose brother kept a farm south of Bartram's lane, near Bartram's Garden, with whom Thomas Meehan boarded, and whose daughter Katherine he married,—here had charge of "Roberts' Farm," and to this place, whose gardens were now under the charge of Scott, the Darby road group, heretofore named, frequently came.

It is fifty-four years since Scott's spleenwort, technically known as *asplenium ebenoids*, was discovered—a plant which has obtained a distinct place in all botanical manuals unto the present day.

Until a few years ago, the spot where this fern was found was unknown to science, one record giving it as Port Kennedy, Pa.; another "on the Schuylkill river, eight miles above Philadelphia," and other records exhibiting like indefinite or inaccurate data. With the assistance of James G. Scott, the son of the discoverer, I was enabled to give the following to the April number of "Fern Bulletin" of 1903:

"The original specimen of spleenwort found by my father was discovered on the edge of a small brook running through the Roberts property at Pencoyd, Lower Merion, Montgomery county, on the west bank of Schuylkill river, almost directly opposite the mouth of Wissahickon Creek."

The exact spot where the fern was found, is now covered by a road which was cut from County Line to Pencoyd Iron Works, this, where it crosses the stream, to one familiar with the locality, definitely fixes the spot.

Scott took his treasure to the Roberts green-houses,





and Miss Fannie Roberts told me she yet remembers the delight its finder showed, as he displayed his little plant. Scott first publicly presented his fern at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society held at Philadelphia. He after wrote an account of it for "The Gardeners' Monthly," in which it appeared in the September number in 1865, and this will partly explain the confusion in locality, for this description was written at Port Kennedy on Schuylkill river, whither Scott had gone to take charge of the garden of John Kennedy. It is as follows:

"Description of a new American fern. This fern belongs to the genus *Asplenium*, and may thus be described: *Asplenium*, L.—Fruit linear, oblique, separate, attached lengthwise to the upper side of the simple forked or pinnate free veins. The indusium opening along the side towards the mid-rib, straight, fixed its whole length, flat, membranaceous. Fronds evergreen, *Asplenium ebenoides* (nova species) barren fronds spreading, four to six inches long, lanceolate, pinnate at the base, pinnatifid towards the apex, tapering into a slender prolongation; apex rooting; rachis black. Fertile fronds eight to ten inches long, nearly upright; pinnate at the base; pinnules of unequal length; an inch or more long, linear lanceolate, fronds tapering into a slender prolongation, sinuose and proliferous; mid-rib permanent to the apex; fronds more membranaceous. A pinnatifidum, which, with the black rachis, distinguishes it from that species. Found in 1862, eight miles from Philadelphia, on the west bank of the Schuylkill. Only one plant could be found, which is now in cultivation, having been divided, thus making two individuals."

Upon an examination of specimens submitted, the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, an English authority, pronounced the plant a hybrid, suggesting that its parents were *Asplenium ebenum*—ebony spleenwort, and *Camptosorus rhizophyllus*—walking fern, and from the day of his announcement until the present time this plant has proved "a bone of contention" between opposing schools of observers and students, which was not lessened when a few years ago a similar plant was produced by careful cross fertilization from the two plants named. Botanical analysis we may not enter too deeply, but briefly it would seem well nigh impossible for ferns to hybridize unassisted, for from their complex growth, and from the construction of their floral organs, also from the knowledge and skill required to produce a fern hybrid by artificial means under the most favor-



able conditions, it would seem that Nature had decreed that there should be no abuse of her functions, and in this instance I believe she presents an original form subject to unusual variations. A late discovery in a glen at Havana, Alabama, offers a similar, though apparently a distinct, form of this rare fern, which shows the plant in all its variations, and indicating a connection with a common type.

We have traced Scott thus far to become acquainted with the discoverer himself, for as a "prophet" is better known in another "country," so at a distance we may the readier present him. But we wish also to connect him with Montgomery county, for here he spent years of his best service.

Scott's last position was in Germantown with Samuel Emlen, on West Coulter street, near Knox street, he at this time dwelling in the Chancellor house, adjoining on West School lane the Germantown Academy. After leaving the Coulter street garden, Scott located at No. 26 (now No. 33) West School House lane, where he conducted a general "landscaping" business as his health permitted, its variableness being a factor influencing his every move, and from time to time compelling him to surrender desirable positions.

Throughout his residence in Montgomery county Scott maintained his relations with his old associates, and was intimate with William Saunders, Jos. Meehan, James Eadie, Dr. McClure, Walter Elder, Charles H. Miller, each noted for his connection with horticulture. To "The Gardeners' Monthly," of which his old friend, Thomas Meehan, was editor; to the "Horticulturist," under the directing care of John Jay Smith, and to "The Germantown Telegraph," whose potent spirit was Philip R. Freas, of Chestnut Hill, to each Scott was a frequent contributor. Among many manuscripts, and articles of Scott's in print, I have examined, are the following, which were written for and appeared in "Emery's Journal," "Moore's Rural New Yorker," "Prairie Farmer," "Year Book of Farm and Garden"





and other papers previously herein named. These articles were written during a period extending from 1856 to the year 1869, and were in brief as follows:

1. "On the Proper Management of Plants in Homes."
2. "Polypodiaceae. Sketches and Notes."
3. "Osmundaceae. Sketches and Notes."
4. "Popular Aids to Horticultural Progress."
5. "The Steam Plow in France."
6. "New American Variety of Camellia Japonica."
7. "Conifers."
8. "Improvement of the Soil."
9. "Ornamental Gardens."
10. "Fruit Culture."
11. "The Pear; Its Propagation."
12. "Pear Culture. Dwarf and Standard."
13. "Dwarf Pears. Misrepresentations."
14. "Pear Culture; a Desperate Case."
15. "Crackling of the Pear."
16. "Pear Blight—a Fungus."
17. "Rust, and Crackling of the Pear."
18. "Failure of a Pear Orchard."
19. "Causes of Leaf Blighting of the Pear."
20. "Pomology,—Taking Pears."
21. "The Raspberry; Varieties and Origin."
22. "A Native Raspberry. *Rubus Stigosus*."
23. "For Garden Culture."
24. "Notes and Items From the Garden."
25. "A Botanical and Horticultural Garden."
26. "Aspects of Vegetation in May From the Flour City to the Quaker City."
27. "Vegetable Disease."
28. "The Potato Crop."
29. "Horticultural Literature. Anonymous Writing."  
"Pursuits of Horticulture."
30. First Paper. "General Principles."
31. Second Paper. "Structure of a Plant."
32. Third Paper. "Soils, Their Care and Preparation."
33. Fourth Paper. "What to Plant, and How to Plant."
34. "A Composite Dose of Rural Affairs."
35. "Grapes, and Grape Culture."
36. "Notes About Peach Culture."
37. "Notes of Garden Operations in the Years 1867-1868."
38. "New Fruits, 1869."

The foregoing is numbered arbitrarily, and while the list is far from complete, enough is given to indicate the general drift and scope of Scott's technical work. As a specimen of Scott's letters, I present herewith one addressed to Rev. M. J. Berkeley, an authority and critic, who first abroad noticed in the "Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society of London" (July, 1866) Scott's spleenwort:



"Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

February 25th, 1861.

Rev. M. J. Berkeley,  
Rev'd Sir:

Some three or four years ago, I took the liberty of communicating with you, on the subject of parasitic fungi, on fruits and fruit trees

Your notice of the matter at the time in the Gardeners' Chronicle was productive of benefit by correcting error on that subject. Since then, I have in a practical way devoted much attention to the matter, but find several very difficult points involved. We organized in the city of Philadelphia, one year ago, a society for the discussion of horticultural topics, among gardeners and others. Among the subjects under consideration was mildew. I mail this day a copy of the pamphlet containing our essays and discussions, and hope it may reach you. You will observe that many erroneous opinions were advanced in reference to mildew and the cause of it. In your introduction to cryptogamic botany at page 275, you state that the vine mildew does not occur in the United States on native vines, but only on those which are imported. There is something in this that I cannot comprehend, as I have found indigenous grapes in our thickets of *vitis labrusca* which were covered with a form of fungus much resembling the erysiphe, but I do not profess to be able to determine the various species of this and other genera. Whether by "vine mildew" you mean only the *oidium tuckerii* I cannot decide. All vines, exotic and indigenous, are more or less mildewed. The species *vitis cordifolia* and its varieties seem more full of it than the others; it has a thin membranous leaf, not tomentose on either surface. My object in troubling you at this time, is to request your attention to the fallacies which are now being circulated here, in reference to the primary cause of mildew. In a paper just published in the Transactions of the American Pomological Society, and what has been inserted there irregularly, having never been submitted to the society for its action. It is stated, that "dry air" or aridity of the atmosphere is the cause of the appearance of mildew on the grape vine. This is quoted, it is alleged, from Lindley's "Theory of Horticulture," viz., that "dry air acting on tender vegetable tissue causes mildew." I do not think that Lindley's word will admit of that meaning—the writer, a practical gardener, further alleges that the erysiphe and oidium are due to very distinct causes, the one appearing on the under side of the leaf, and the other on the upper, the erysiphe attacking generally the exotic *vitis vinifera*, the oidium the indigenous species. These appear to me gratuitous assumptions, and having been sent abroad, under the authority of the American Pomological Society, may have more importance attached to them than they deserve.

Should you desire a copy of the Pomological transactions, I shall be happy to place one at your disposal. Any notice in the answer to correspondents in the Gardeners' Chronicle will meet my eye.

Truly yours,

R. ROBINSON SCOTT."



John Jay Smith, in a letter to Scott dated "German-town, Pa., November 15, 1857," wrote:

"You have taken good ground, and perhaps not too bold, in your opening article, and if you will carry it out, as I believe you can, will do yeoman's service. Will it be too much to ask of you to let me have a little more—say a couple of articles, as I cannot get this into December owing to its being all up for an index which also interferes, and then I can better give them as a series all in one volume? You have a field to exercise your known talent in this matter. If there be anything requiring notice it is the topic you have begun.  
\* \* \* Let me hear from you soon if you please, as January copy will be given out at once.

Yours very faithfully,

JNO. JAY SMITH."

These specimen letters, though not fairly representative, we present to illustrate the character of the correspondence conducted by Scott, and are sufficient, I think, for the purpose. As we have already noted, Scott's work in America was sadly interrupted by disabilities resulting from an injury he received in childhood by falling down a hatch-way. This disability in its own time compelled him to abandon literary work, and with advancing years his spells of illness become more frequent, more severe, and at Harrisburg, Pa., June 24, 1877, in the prime of life, his tired spirit left its earthly habitation to find its rest in the world beyond.

So passed one fitted to adorn and elevate his profession—an immeasurable loss to American horticulture, his friends, and the world at large. My Darby road friend answered me: "Know Robinson Scott? Yes, he was a terrible smart man, an educated man, and could speak several languages, a little man all head."

William De Hart many times told me of Scott's knowledge and ability, as did also several of his old-time companions, more specifically Joseph and Prof. Thomas Meehan. Scott's endowments and acquisitions were by all his acquaintances appreciated, and in the time to come, when the history of American horticulture shall come to its writing, beside the names of A. J. Downing, John Jay Smith, Thomas Meehan, and with unnamed exponents and teachers of the front





rank, will be found his name, who, though denied the recompense of the harvest, was privileged to mark the field, and if we today are able to present an illustrated floricultural magazine creditable to American progress and worthy of comparison with the best gardening journals abroad, it is largely because of the labors of a pioneer who cleared the way, enriched the ground, struck the guiding furrow for others after to follow, our fellow Montgomery county worker and benefactor hereby so hastily and so superficially portrayed.

R. Robinson Scott, by those who knew him, was much beloved, but like other busy, able "theoretical" men, he was often misunderstood by those beyond his acquaintance of restricted views, and by others out of sympathy with his plans.

Scott had lofty ideals and a purity of purpose which ignored practical considerations whenever these interfered with his singleness of aim, and in consequence, he in many ways was called upon to suffer.

This I gathered from old-time associates who wrought with him. Small in stature, frail in health, active, enthusiastic, eager for knowledge, ready ever to "give and take," the possessor of a trained, richly-stored mind, he moved forward an idealist, shirking no effort, surrendering no principle, with no hope of reward, maintaining to the end his position against great odds—a triumphant success.

Such was Robert Robinson Scott, and ever as "that inward eye" illumines his worth, let us call to mind the virtues they commemorate, and learn to appreciate and adequately honor the struggles of the heroic dead whose "works do follow them" to give pleasure to and elevate mankind.



SALLY WISTER  
By EDWARD W. HOCKER

When John Fanning Watson, the pioneer local historian of Pennsylvania and the author of the ever-interesting "Annals of Philadelphia" was prowling through the ancient houses of Germantown, eighty years ago, he came across a journal, kept in 1777 and 1778, this journal being one of the treasures of the Wister house. Doubtless Charles J. Wister, then the occupant of the house, told the historian that his sister Sally had written this journal while her family found refuge in Gwynedd at the time of the British occupancy of Philadelphia. Watson transcribed part of the journal, and printed brief extracts in his "Annals," but he did not reveal the identity of the author other than by the initials "S. W."

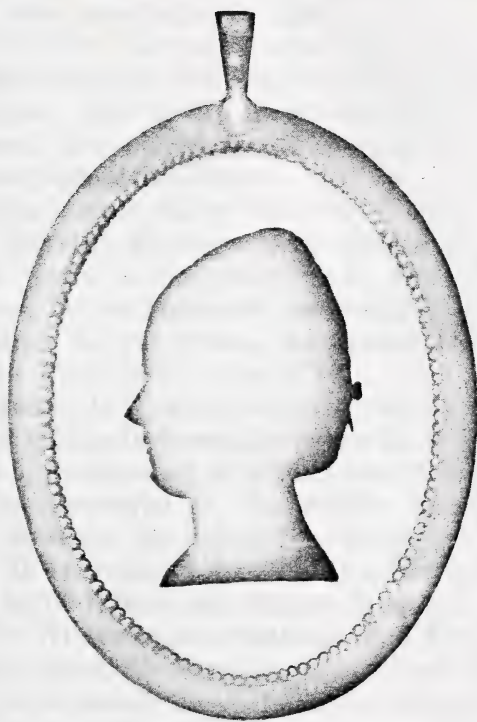
For fifty years after that the journal received little further notice. Then it was printed almost in full in the Pennsylvania Historical Magazine and in Howard M. Jenkins' "Historical Collection of Gwynedd." Its most satisfactory publication, however, came eleven years ago, when Albert Cook Myers, of Delaware county, Pa., edited it, applied explanatory notes and issued it in an attractive volume.

As the years have passed the value of this document has become the more apparent for it possesses that human interest which vitalizes what otherwise are only the dry bones of historical data.

When the Revolution opened Daniel Wister was a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, who had a country home in Germantown. In the fall of 1777, when the fortunes of war went against Washington's army, and it was evident that any day Philadelphia might fall into the hands of the British, Daniel Wister brought his family out into the country to stay with their relatives, the Foulkes, in Gwynedd. The house where the







SALLY WISTER



Foulkes lived stood on a tract that had been in the possession of the family since the settlement of Gwynedd, in 1698. Since the Revolution wings have been added at the east and west, but the original central part remains today nearly the same as it was 135 years ago. It is now the home of Edgar J. Pershing, Esq., of the Philadelphia bar. The Foulke mill, on the Wissahickon, which was the first mill in that neighborhood, was demolished in 1896.

In 1777 Mrs. Hannah Foulke was the head of the family, her husband, William Foulke, having died two years before. The Wister family comprised the father, mother and three children, Sally, then in her seventeenth year, being the oldest.

In Philadelphia Sally Wister's dearest chum was Deborah Norris. Facing a long period of separation when she came to Gwynedd, Sally Wister began to write down her experiences, as though she were penning a letter to her chum, the record running from September, 1777, until June, 1778.

In October, 1777, when the American army was encamped in Whitpain township, below Blue Bell, General Smallwood, commander of a Maryland brigade, and his staff were quartered in the Foulke house, and the journal abounds in sprightly comment about the officers. It is evident that an attachment developed between Sally Wister and Major Stoddert. Undoubtedly Sally Wister was something of a flirt, but when she writes about Stoddert there is a vein of sincerity not akin to flirtation. She sets out to dispel the major's bashfulness, inveigles him into conversation and they spend many a pleasant hour together in the Foulke house or strolling through the woods bordering the Wissahickon.

One of the officers at the Foulke house was a paymaster named Tilly, whom Sally Wister describes as a "wild and noisy mortal" given to boasting of his own bravery. One night in December, 1777, he was the victim of a practical joke of which Sally Wister and Major Stoddert were the instigators. A life-size figure



of a British grenadier was placed at the door of the house. Then Tilly was summoned. He almost collided with the figure and at the same time a voice shouted, "Are there any rebel officers here?" Then Tilly, in the language of the journal, "darted like lightning out of the front door, bolted the fence; swamps, fences, thorn hedges and plowed fields in no way impeded his progress."

The figure used on this occasion is supposed to have been painted by Major Andre for the theatricals which the British soldiers gave that winter in Philadelphia. In some way, not clear, it came into the possession of Colonel Samuel Miles, of Spring Mill. He was a relative of the Wisters, and from him the Wister girls obtained the grenadier. It has since remained in the possession of the Wister family, being one of the treasures of the Wister house in Germantown, where the original manuscript of Sally Wister's journal is also preserved. On the day of the outing Alexander W. Wister,<sup>1</sup> of Germantown, a grandnephew of Sally Wister, brought the figure in his automobile to the Foulke house, where it was placed in the doorway at the place where it stood the night it frightened the wits out of Tilly.

The day following the perpetration of the joke, Major Stoddert left the Foulke house, and thereafter he and Sally Wister never again met each other. Later another army officer, Captain Dandridge, of Virginia, after nine days' acquaintance, proposed marriage to Sally, but she gave him her "very gentlest refusal."

Notwithstanding the romances of her youth, Sally Wister never married. After 1789 the family lived altogether in their Germantown home, and there Sally Wister died, in 1804, being then 43 years old.

1. At the home of Edgar Pershing, Esq., at Penllyn, on Saturday, on the occasion of the visit of the Historical Society, Alexander Wister, of Germantown, was present. He brought with him the celebrated figure of a "British grenadier," which was used by "Sally" Wister to play a joke on one of the young officers of the American army, as Edward Hoeker told at the Gwynedd Meeting later in the day. It was probably not known to all the members that the bringing of the figure to Penllyn and its being placed just where "Sally" Wister placed it was entirely owing to the kindness of Mr. Wister, who is the oldest living member of the Wister family. Notwithstanding the weather and the many years he carries so well, Mr. Wister fulfilled his promise to come if he possibly could." The committee fully appreciates his kindness and thanks him for it.





## POEM

By WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

Written, at Norristown, December 9, 1839 (before leaving for West Point)—in the album of Miss Sarah Woodman, later Mrs. William B. Hahn, and reprinted in a Philadelphia paper forty-six years later.

Wreath thy garlands, fairest one,  
Ere the beams of day are gone.  
Soon will close each fragrant flower  
Blooming in the garden's bower,  
While the midnight dews are shed  
O'er each sleeping floweret's head.

Wreath thy garlands, fairest one,  
Soon will Summer's reign be gone;  
Tempests come with chilling breath  
Sweeping o'er the barren heath,  
So stern Winter's fearless band  
Stalk in fierceness o'er the land.

Wreath thy garlands, fairest one,  
Soon will set life's glowing sun;  
Youth's gay dreams too quickly fade,  
Loving hearts are soon betrayed,  
Wreath thy garlands ere their bloom  
Fade around thy earthly tomb.



## THE BUILDING OF FONTHILL AT DOYLESTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1908, 1909 AND 1910

By HENRY C. MERCER

Several sketches, and memoranda in my note books, show that the building of Fonthill was first considered definitely during my visit to New England in the summer of 1907 and that the cheerful fronting of certain houses, overlooking Commercial Street, Boston, running N. N. E. by 1 point East, were studied for this purpose.

The house was planned at "Aldie," Doylestown, Pa., by me in the winter of 1907, room by room, entirely from the interior, the exterior not being considered until all the rooms had been imagined and sketched, after which blocks of clay, representing the rooms, were piled on a table, set together, and modelled into a general outline. After a good many changes in the profile of tower, roof, etc., a plaster of Paris model was made to scale, and used till the building was completed.

From eight to ten unskilled day labourers, at the then wages of \$1.75 a day, supervised by Patrick Trainor, and under my constant direction, built the house in three summers, those of 1908, 1909 and 1910. I employed no architect to carry out my plans, and there were no skilled labourers employed in the construction proper, though afterwards a carpenter put in the doors and window sash; a mason set the tiles on the vertical walls, and a painter put in the window glass. As a single exception to this Jacob Frank, employee at the Moravian Pottery, set the ceiling tiles which were cast into the building during its construction. Cement-mixers were not then in general use, and all the cement was mixed by hand, in the proportions of Vulcanite Portland Cement 1 part, yellow sand, called Jersey gravel,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  parts, and bluish crushed trap, from the crushed stone works at Rockhill Station, south of Quakertown, Bucks County, Penna., 5 parts.







FONTHILL, Doylestown, Pa.



The mixed material was lifted either in iron wheelbarrows, or in boxes with four handles to be carried by two men or by a pulley, fastened at the vertex of a very simple apparatus, namely a triangle about ten feet high, made of three heavy wooden strips balanced with guy ropes, so as to swing outward from the brink of any of the walls, or at a hand pull, backward inside the brink. This inward swing brought the uplifted load safely within the triangle to the workman's hands. A single horse belonging to Patrick Trainor, named "Lucy," trained to pull forward the pulley rope on a counter block, and at a shout to stop and then back on the path,—did all the work of lifting for three years. No accidents happened to the men whose names are set in tile letters on one of the inner roofs of the east gable. Thunderstorms frequently occurred, but only one so damaged the ceiling of the library gallery, that the crust had to be replaced. The men were trusted to count the ingredients and mix the cement properly. They only failed once, on leaving a mixed batch to stand over night, and then unwillingly removing the rotted mixture, after having poured it into the forms.

During construction the building was roughly roofed with felt paper. The re-enforcing irons, used everywhere according to approved formulae, were hollow ( $\frac{3}{4}$  inch and less) iron pipes bought in junk yards in Philadelphia and Doylestown, except for the beams, where solid iron rods, not twisted, were used in the usual way, after bending around posts, etc., to the proper angles, six per beam. Besides this, heavy galvanized farm fencing in large rectangular mesh, was laid over all the re-enforcements.

The plan of the whole house was a blending of my own fancies, with memories of my travels, and suggestions from several engravings, in particular the "Dutch Housekeeper," by Gerard Dow; the "Great Barn," by Wouvermans in the Dresden Gallery; and a Lithograph, now in my Morning Room, called "Le Main Chaud," by De Boucourt; also a woodcut illustrating a story called "Haunted" in a book published in London about 1865,



by Tinsley's Magazine, named, "A Stable for Nightmares." This picture gave me the night lighting of the Morning Room. The first interior imagined and clearly seen, was that of the west side of the Saloon, seen when standing near the large window about eight feet from the door to the Library. The arrangement of rooms at different levels seen over the gallery in the Saloon, is a memory of a Turkish house seen by me from a rear garden in Salonica in 1886. The Saloon still clearly retains the appearance of these preliminary dreams, but the original fancies for nearly all of the other rooms were changed as we proceeded, sometimes perhaps for the better and sometimes for the worse.

The name "Fonthill" well remembered as that of a house in Essex County, Virginia, belonging to my distant relative, Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, seemed very appropriate, on account of the fine spring rising here on a hilltop close to the north-west corner of the tower. I long hesitated with it on account of its earlier celebrity in the historic "Fonthill" of Beckford in Wiltshire, England, long since destroyed, but decided to use it at last, on the advice of an English friend of high authority.

The foundations, not over 5 feet deep, rested on a solid ledge of sandstone but as this sub-stratum was generally covered with a dense crust of broken stones and grit, I doubted its existence, until, when later, fearing a collapse, we tried to under-pin the tower. Then the trenches dug for this purpose proved the fact.

Several demolished buildings, followed by car loads of unplanned boards, furnished the wooden material for the forms. These consisted of partitions made by laying the boards horizontally, edge to edge one upon another, with battens, nailed where-ever convenient against their outer sides. Double lengths of wire were looped around and twisted upon the projecting ends of these battens, across the interval between the opposing form partitions, as we proceeded to keep the forms from bulging. These forms were set vertically with a spirit-level, and not by eye, as has been asserted.





Where high winds deflected them, or where they sagged, or where mistakes were made, the results were corrected, after construction, by chiseling away projecting corners, or building up crusts, as seen against the north corner of the east gable. Nevertheless the north library wall still shows a bad overhang. Pieces of tin were tacked over knot holes, large cracks and open joints. Owing to warping the board joints never fitted close, and there was continual leakage of liquid cement. This produced many porous spots on the outer wall which were plastered over afterwards. The concrete was purposely not spaded inside the walls, in the hope of making them more porous. Continued suggestion as to dampness, rheumatism, etc., caused us to cast large vertical holes in the walls by means of collapsable wooden boxes invented by me; stove pipes filled with dry sand pulled upward as we proceeded, and even cornstalks wrapped in paper at intervals of a few feet. This mural ventilation was continued throughout all the walls. The cornstalk plan was, however, a failure, as the leaves flew in all directions into the forms; and the wet stalks would not burn out of the holes. Angles in the very irregular chimneys, and the chimneys themselves, were cast upon wooden boxes or boards, pounded, pried or burnt out, afterwards. The walls were cast two feet thick, and the box holes either two feet long and one foot wide, or one foot square. Piers, three feet by three and a half, bordered the windows in the tower, the inner wall of which for extra strength, enclosing the staircase, etc., was cast very thick. The vertical re-inforcing pipes were planted two feet apart in the forms and straightened as we went up. The fence wire was slid down against them, and the horizontal pipes laid in on the wet cement at every two feet. The arches over many of the windows were made by bending  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch by 3 inch wide wooden strips into semi-circles, to coincide with a penciled line on the outer forms, and the welts left by these still show in the Morning Room. The result of our precautions as to wall ventilation, namely: loose tamping, pipe-holes,



collapsible boxes, and cement batches mixed by hand and greatly varying in density, was very successful. Blackened shoes in dark closets never mildew. There has never been condensation of moisture except on the tile pavements in the hall. Cigars dry up in their boxes. Windsor chairs rattle loose.

Owing to the color of the Jersey gravel, gray cement and bluish trap, the outer walls show soft gray yellow with faint greenish reflections, and, owing to the roughness of the forms, board welts, porous spots not re-touched, etc., the texture is very rich as seen at a distance. In experimenting upon smoothing down these outer surfaces for weather protection with cement plaster, when a mason, working upon a hanging platform, did the work, we found that his plastering had been carried too far on the east upper wall of the tower, and thereafter proceeded by re-touching only the very porous spots.

The columns intended to support roof slopes and upper story partitions rise from the cellar to the house-top through several rooms without symmetrical arrangement. Their forms were made by boards set vertically and held together in circles with rope and wire, or in squares with battens. Each was re-enforced with three vertical pipes and wire circles twisted by hand and dropped down the forms about two feet apart as the work went on. Tiled capitals and bases and cement capitals were put on after construction. Some of the latter, in the windroom, were taken from very old Byzantine churches in Greece, and one, the owl face in the cellar, from Mont St. Michel, in France. An octagonal wooden column used by one of my friends, an architect, in a house near Philadelphia, and adapted by him from a column in the Castle of Tratzberg in the Austrian Tyrol, suggested the polygonal columns, two or three of which are octagons, while the others have nine faces, or are made circular by the use of narrow wooden strips in the form. The columns referred to by visitors, etc., made, one with stovepipes, and the other with nail kegs, are in the cellar of the east wing.





One column was cut off during the construction, in the yellow room, to make way for the bed. Some of the columns were plastered after construction with lime and sand mortar, others with cement. Some were left untouched and some slightly retouched.

The interior partitions connected with or supported by the columns were cast about five inches thick and re-enforced as usual. The wooden window frames and sash were made at Doylestown and Lansdale, and the frames cast into the wall during construction. The cement windows were cast in channels cut with wire loops in slabs of clay, and were re-enforced with thin iron rods, and set in their wall holes after construction. Those on the hall stairs are the first of their kind ever made to the writer's knowledge, but in these the stone ingredients were too large. One of them, with another on the west terrace, have cracked around the irons. But those made later, with chosen ingredients, in the garage or, with larger mullions, in the Historical Building, have been very successful.

Some of the chimneys and staircases were formed with the building, others cast upon it. The chimneys above the roof were varied in height, and their caps sometimes altered for draught. Many of the flues are very tortuous. Most draw very well, but a few are smoky in certain winds, and defy correction, namely: those in Mr. Swain's room and the East room. That in the Yellow room radiates its heat badly, and that in the Library, which smoked in west winds, has been corrected. The Morning room and Study fireplaces draw and heat well and that in the Saloon is probably one of the most efficient open fireplaces ever built. The hot air flues were made of round terra-cotta pipes cast in the walls.

For the flat ceilings in the cellar, platforms of boards, sawed to fit, were placed between the beam troughs, and these levels covered up to the troughs with earth. Later, for upper rooms, the platforms were made very roughly of rails covered with grass upon which the earth layer was spread and then about



two inches of yellow Bucks County sand was spread over the earth. The roof terraces and flatter roofs were also so treated but on the very steep roofs of the tower and east gable carpets only were spread over the boards, except on the East room ceiling, where, in spite of the steep slope, the earth and sand layer was used as described.

The vault forms were made of heaps of earth spread to reduce their weight, over piles of boxes, and overlaid as before with sand, producing a series of carefully graded mounds resting on the platforms as before. This process began in the crypt of the tower, where no sand layer was used. In the Library the earth mounds were raked into semi-circles or ellipses and the sand overlay carefully smoothed. All worked well, notwithstanding the difficulty of scalloping the wall forms to meet the slopes of these mounds, and cleaning or washing out the column forms from down fallen earth and sand. Having heard of serious condensation of moisture in a recently built house in Canada, we decided to cast a very porous undercrust on all further ceilings. This consisted of Vulcanite Portland cement 1 part and fine sifted cinder 6 parts. Three inches of this was spread wet upon the sand layer above described, over all the ceilings, under the re-enforcing irons and then above five inches of regular concrete was superimposed. No waterproofing compound was used for the roofs or walls, except Dyckerhof's Imported Waterproof Cement for the large west terrace. Otherwise, on the advice of Mr. R. W. Lesley, based on experiments then made with lime, we used 10 per cent. (to the volume of dry cement) of powdered slacked lime, used by plasterers, and called "Limoid," to waterproof the five inch concrete layer on all roofs and terraces. This was very successful. Only one roof, namely; that in the smoking room, ever leaked, and that cured itself, probably by crystalization, in two years. The large water tank, resting directly on the ceiling of the Wind room, was thus waterproofed, notwithstanding warnings from one of the builders of





the swimming pool at the Racquet Club in Philadelphia (then recently built and lined with tar paper). This Fonthill tank, however, sprang a slight leak several years later, but again cured itself in a year or two. The same thing happened with the tank at the pottery.

No cracks have thus far appeared in any of the roofs or ceilings. The roof tiles on the tower and steeple, were not necessary as the surfaces under them were already waterproofed.

In the hall and Saloon clay troughs for groins and borders, and clay impressions of stove-plates, were used in casting the ceilings. Otherwise tiles were pushed face downwards into the sand layer, so as to project about a quarter of an inch on the backs. The tile and cement pavements were set after construction. A method of casting designs or pictures upon ceilings in colored cements, was tried twice successfully in the cellar of the Saloon, but not attempted elsewhere. The ceiling tile work pictures, inscriptions, designs, etc., cast, as described, directly during construction, tried first in the crypt, and next in the Library, were very successful. The elaborate and probably overworked pictures in the Columbus and Bow Rooms, which may be called adaptations of our mosaics, with patterns modelled in relief and no background, were designed in August and burnt and set before frost of the same year. These tiles were laid first, with much difficulty from the wind, on large drawings, and then turned upside down and pushed into the sand. We feared sagging of vault forms and the falling of heavy tiles set in this manner, but no such bad results followed. When we pulled out the platform props, and the platforms collapsed, tons of earth and sand fell, exposing the tiles, after which the loose sand was washed off with a hose, and when dry, brushed and shellaced with diluted yellow shellac, between the tiles.

The interior walls were not furred. Sometimes they were plastered with lime and sand mortar or with cement and then shellaced with yellow shellac, or tinted with a clay wash (i. e. common field clay and





water) colored with dry paints. The panels in the Pine Room, Dormer Room, etc., were adapted from those at Haddon Hall, the Library panels were original, and colored with water color paint sprayed with shellac. The Morning Room was panelled with old Doylestown cast-away doors of varying dates between 1760 and 1850. The painted door in the Library was made by outlining the pattern with a cautery, and was copied from Froissart's Chronicle, and taken from my old room at Aldie. The iron balcony railings were patterned after those seen in an old second-class hotel in Genoa; those of cement in the Saloon and outer terraces, were taken from the porch of San Marco at Venice. The rhymed English mottos on the staircases are original. Several in Latin are from old house doorways in Genoa. "Non Omnia sed bona et bene" from No. 15 (black numbers) Via del Campo; "Non domo dominus sed domino domus." Via Pontaldi, No. 6 (black numbers).

All the tiles on the wall faces were set in the usual way, and not cast in during construction. The heavy outer doors are made of oak planks from the old covered bridge at Chalfont, and adapted from doors at Hornby Castle, Yorkshire. The interior doors, of the same construction, are backed with cross battens nailed on as seen by me in 1886 on doors at Durenstein in Upper Austria, and elsewhere on the Danube in Austria. The door nails were made in Doylestown by a blacksmith, and the hinges and hinge hooks from old Bucks County barns, were found in neighboring scrap iron heaps. The hook prongs were extra forked for casting into the walls. A few late panelled doors, of about 1850, were bought at a Philadelphia wreckage yard. The staircases were all plastered with round treads over wire netting placed upon the original casting.

The Columbus Room was dedicated to my aunt, Mrs. T. B. Lawrence, to whom I owe my education and travels, and all the rhymed tile inscriptions on the columns and corbels in that room are original and



refer to her, in gratitude for her incessant encouragement and help in things good and worthy such as I have done or tried to do since my early youth.

The tapestry woven curtains, etc., in the house are of modern French make, and have greatly faded. Most of the prints, engravings, etc., were obtained from George H. Rigby, the bookseller on Arch street in Philadelphia. The picture frames were generally adapted from old mirror frames of about 1840, and they and the furniture were variously painted to give color to the rooms. The floors were polished with damp white pine sawdust slightly oiled with boiled linseed oil.

In general the house, like old barns, anthracite coal breakers, old houses in the country before 1800, and as I believe, like many European castles, was built from the inside, in other words,—to be used first and looked at afterwards, therefore with only a secondary regard for outside construction. The establishment of the height of walls, shape of windows, roof lines, steeples, chimneys, etc., were finishing touches. The construction was nowhere concealed. From first to last I tried to follow the precept of the architect Pugin, "Decorate construction but never construct decoration."

So little was outside appearance considered that we remained in doubt and some fear as to the final result, till the forms were removed. The flat tower-roof and "Jersey Terrace" were afterthoughts. When the covering of woodwork finally disappeared the general outlines from the east seemed disappointing and out of proportion, but seen from the west the building realized the literary and artistic dreams and memories of travel which had inspired its construction.

Large numbers of sightseers visited the house in 1909 and 1910, since then as a few visitors continue to come, leaflets were written to describe the tile work and interior decoration for their benefit. Referring to these more minute descriptions, I conclude with a motto, from a door of an old house, (Vico deitro il coro dell vigne, Genoa, No. 43, red), "Intro spice at judica."





## MUSEUM BUILDING AND ITS VALUE TO A COMMUNITY

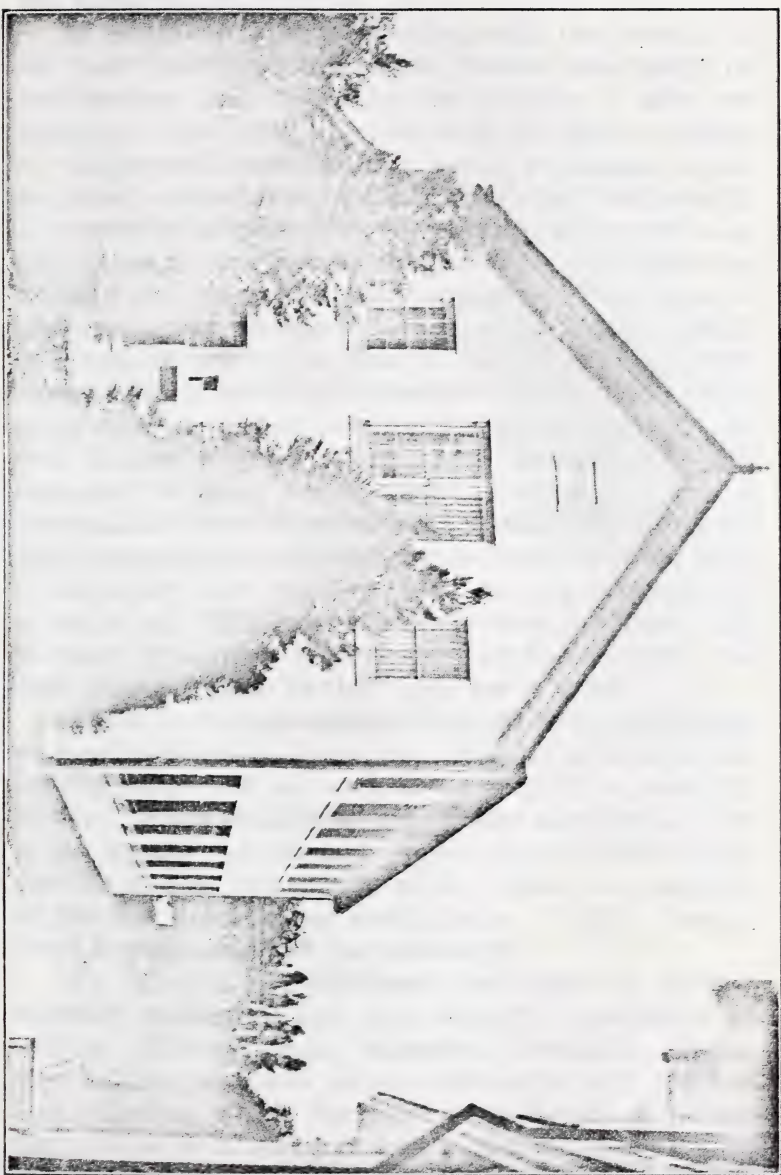
By H. SEVERN REGAR

I have been asked to speak to you this afternoon on the subject of "Museums and Their Value to a Community." This is a topic of great interest to me. Not only because I happen to own a small one myself, but I thoroughly believe them to be of great educational benefit to both young and old. There is today hardly a city of any size which cannot boast of one or more museums, and these are usually pointed to with pride.

Let us look for a moment into the history of museums in general; their growth and prominence. We find these collections were at first started by monarchs of the old countries for pastime; but as they grew the benefit derived from their exhibition caused such kings as Alexander the Great to grant to Aristotle, his learned teacher, money for research along the line of natural history. He also sent his men to foreign lands to hunt and preserve various specimens. Thus started the first great museum; but sad to relate it burned down during the fourth century.

From that time on until about 1500 A. D. very little in the line of museum work was accomplished; but during the above year a notable museum was started at Dresden. During the 19th century the growth of these institutions was very rapid; and today we have many noteworthy museums, among them the British Museum, probably the most extensive in the world; the New National Museum at Washington, D. C., to which has been transferred the Smithsonian Institute Collection; the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New York Museum of Natural History, both of New York City, the largest of their kind in the United States; the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, "gift of Andrew Car-





THE REGAR MUSEUM, NORRISTOWN, PA.



negie to the people of Pittsburgh," and many others too numerous to mention.

It would certainly seem that with the erection of all these buildings; the money invested and spent for maintenance and research; the number of men employed in their field of work, and the great numbers of visitors each year that they are of permanent benefit as great educational institutions to any community. I do not feel however that the average person of today spends much time in such places. The world moves so rapidly, and we are so busily engaged in other lines of endeavor; that when we have time for things outside our regular routine we take to motion-picture exhibitions or other forms of amusement rather than spend some time improving our knowledge of Art, History and Nature in and about these institutions. The museums of today are so varied; contain so much of interest, and have the exhibits so wonderfully arranged that those who do not indulge in a view of at least some of the many miss that which to me is a revelation of a world but little known. Then there are those who go more in a spirit of curiosity and fail to grasp the finer threads which to their eyes are invisible.

While Norristown cannot boast of such institutions as mentioned above, there are a number of notable collections housed in our town of which little is generally known. These should be kept intact and not allowed to go outside the borough limits; for the value they possess to this community alone cannot be measured by the few dollars they would bring, if sold. Among these I might mention the following:

Mr. Charles F. Williams maintains a private museum containing rare and beautiful specimens of antique Oriental rugs, tapestry, furniture, clocks, stained glass windows, altars, vestments, etc.; a priceless collection which Norristown can ill afford to lose and should be allowed to keep. Mr. Williams has at the present time a number of rare Oriental rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, and is considered an authority of note on this subject.





Mr. William E. Montague, a member of this Society, has a collection of antique stoveplates, china, linen, glassware, and other art objects of great historical value which would fill a large room or two and prove of much benefit to historians and the general public.

The late George H. Anders owns a collection of stamps said to be the third finest in the country; collection of Schwenkfelder relics of great historical value; a very fine collection of Valley Forge relics, lately purchased by Rev. W. Herbert Burk for the Valley Forge Museum; and a collection of over 9000 pieces of Indian pottery, arrow points, axes, pipes and ceremonials; and many other pieces of china, glassware and art objects; a very fine collection indeed.

Mr. John E. Overholtzer—also a member of our Society—possesses a collection of glass bottles of all ages, shapes and sizes, probably one of the most unique and finest of its kind in the country. An exhibit of interest to any institution and one of very few in the United States.

The Historical Society of Montgomery County has acquired a collection of historical books, documents, and other relics of the history of our country in general and this section in particular. A collection of great value and one of which better care should be taken lest it may some day be destroyed by fire.

Mr. N. H. Larzelere's collection of oil paintings of various subjects is, no doubt, one of the finest in this section and would be a valuable addition to any museum.

I have not mentioned my own museum as I shall have more to say regarding it later. What I do want to impress upon the minds of all is that we have in Norristown a wonderful nucleus for a community museum which would be of inestimable benefit and value not only to our townspeople but to the children of our schools who could in a few short hours gain a knowledge which would otherwise take years to obtain. This Community Museum idea could be worked out in a variety of ways. What I would suggest is that all



of these various collectors enter into an agreement whereby their individual collections would be left in trust with a building and endowment fund. When a large enough amount accumulates let the building be built and all the various collections be housed therein. The endowment funds should be sufficient to take care of the maintenance of the institution. Let the building be of such a character that it can be added to should the contents warrant it. If however at some future time this cannot be done for some reason or other the collections could either be turned over to other institutions or returned to the executors of each estate to be disposed of.

The Regar Museum of Natural History which I created in 1915 has opened a wonderful field of Nature Study in Norristown. I can say this without boasting for the collection is not a work of mine. It was made during a period of 35 years of the life of William H. Werner, a Pennsylvania naturalist. The North American of March 25th, 1905, published an account of this great collection and I shall quote therefrom as it is, no doubt, the best article upon the subject.

"These birds that through years to come will brood in lifelike manner over their nests, or continue apparently with never-ceasing delight to revel in their haunts, were gathered from nearly every part of the United States—to be exact, from twenty-four states and territories.

"In the gathering and mounting of these winged treasures Mr. Werner has devoted a lifetime. The result is a collection of its kind that is thought to be unequaled in this country, probably in the world. From a scientific standpoint the collections is above value—because, for the first time, it is said, a collection of a nation's birds has been made and the birds preserved in reproductions of their natural habitats.

"To gather these birds during the forty-six years he has spent in the work, Mr. Werner has travelled into distant and remote sections of country often risking his life to secure some feathered treasure. Among the birds he has secured are specimens of a few which have become extinct; and these, to the ornithologist, are of priceless value.

"Most visitors to the Museum wander leisurely among the cases, mark the different varieties of birds, and wonder at the indefatigable labor of getting such a collection. An idea of what was endured, and what efforts were made, may never enter the minds of these good folk; but as every notable achievement is the result of some notable effort, so, as an extraordinary romance, does the life of Mr. Werner fit in with his wonderful collection.





"Among these birds may be seen a passenger pigeon caught in Northampton County on May 11, 1870, a brown and black species which is now extinct. There are also specimens of the Whooping Crane, Ivory-billed Woodpecker, and Carolina Parakeet which have gone the same route. Another interesting specimen is that of the Bald Eagle, the identical bird which once attempted to carry off a child; how the child's mother beat it with a broom; and finally rescued her babe was also told by Mr. Werner. He afterward pursued this bird into the mountains and killed the pair.

"There are hundreds of other birds, each installed in fitting surroundings. In most cases the nests are those built by the birds themselves; in most cases the eggs were those laid by the female birds; and in many instances the trees, the boughs, the strange retreats in which the birds appear are those in which they were found.

"Not only has Mr. Werner made the remarkable collection for himself but he has gathered birds for various institutions, among them Lehigh University and the State Museum of New Jersey at Trenton. For five years he was State naturalist of New Jersey and collected during that time over 300 birds indigenous to that State.

"One of the largest specimens in the collection is a great white whistling swan—a majestic bird from Alaska, measuring nearly ten feet from tip to tip of the wings. In another case with a young lamb in its talons one can see a great golden eagle. An imperial bird measuring over eight feet across the wings.

"Besides the birds, Mr. Werner boasts of possibly the most complete collection of nests in the country. There is a nest of kingfishers in sand; nests of flycatchers in trees designed so as to ensnare flies; there are nests in hollow trees, and in fact every variety which a bird builds is depicted in the most attractive manner. By a peculiar process Mr. Werner was able to preserve grass and the boughs with natural foliage. He has preserved nearly all nests as they were found, amid their natural surroundings. His work is done with care, with fondness. He has never during his career wantonly killed birds; rarely he is proud of declaring getting any duplicates."

This collection was in years gone by quite an attraction on the boardwalk at Atlantic City. I never lost an opportunity to visit the place and have a chat with Mr. Werner. His death occurred about eight years ago. I purchased this collection from his son in June, 1915. In addition to the large number of cases there were also included over 200 single specimens which can now be used for class study, together with numerous butterflies, shells, reptiles, books and other interesting objects.

The Regar Museum building is of fireproof construction consisting of two large floors 70x25 feet. It was started in August 1915 and completed in the latter



part of October of the same year. The Museum was officially opened by an inspection of the members of Town Council on the evening of December 7, 1915. From that time on the history of this institution is no doubt familiar to all. Numerous meetings of various organizations have been held there and the Audubon Club of Norristown has its permanent headquarters in the building. This club meets four times a year usually to hear a noted speaker on ornithology and enjoy educational moving pictures.

These are only a few of the things which can be accomplished in a building of this sort. Norristown needs more of them. Our system of education needs just such institutions to augment the work of the classroom. They may be made a veritable storehouse of useful knowledge. The life and history of a community; its resources; the great mysteries of Nature, and numerous other interesting and instructive exhibits can here be seen and absorbed to a greater or less extent in a few hours, and more vividly, as the eye is the window of the brain. To me the most interesting places I saw abroad were the various museums and art galleries where I could gain so much in so short a time.

In closing I want to appeal to those men of Norristown who have accumulated during their lifetime collections of various kinds. Let them stay in Norristown. They were made here and should not be allowed to go outside the borough limits. I remember so well attending the sale of the life-long collection of that famous Indian painter Julian Scott. A most beautiful collection it was. Accumulated through years and years only to have its identity and individuality ruined under the hammer. Parts of the collection went here, parts there; the work of years rent asunder. We should all be proud of our collections. It is getting harder and harder every day to gather together a collection of any sort. They are all gradually finding their way into museums. Norristown is growing and some day will rank as one of the great cities of Pennsylvania. In that day our children's children will



mourn the loss if we allow these collections to become scattered. We must keep them here; provide a suitable building for their exhibition, and make that our contribution to posterity.







MISS CLARA A. BECK



## REPORT OF ANNALIST OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1919

By CLARA A. BECK

You will doubtless remember that when I made my last report, the people of Norristown had just been "beaten to a stand-still" by a "strike" on the part of the High School pupils of the borough, "the 400," in the "walk out" possibly fearing mental exhaustion from over study, having demanded as balm to their grievances nothing less than "shorter hours."

Ever since that time educational circles in the county have been in a state of ferment.

Tax payers in West Norriton, armed with "petitions," full to overflowing with the most uncomplimentary opinions and attended by an array of "legal lights," have summarily dismissed an acknowledged authority on "Pedagogics," who held the position of supervising principal, because he exhibited such an "autocratic" spirit, that he very nearly precipitated the resignation of an entire teaching force.

From an ideal residential community along the North Penn railroad, came the startling news that the principal of a school had given "quit notice" as it were, because the Board of Directors had failed, in spite of protests, to live up to State requirements, and were compelling an overflow of pupils, 35 in number, belonging to the 7th and 8th grades, to take their education in an upper room over a hotel stable.

At the lower end of the county, the old time one-room school house was still so much in evidence that the tax payers notified the school board, that a square, up-to-date educational deal was now in order; this notice threw the members of the Board in such a state of panic that they could find no common ground of agreement as to what was required of them, and at last report they were still "wearing their thinking caps,"





no one having been inspired to follow the usual proceeding under such circumstances, of calling upon legal advisors.

"The Problem of the Rural Schools" has given advanced educators the usual amount of worry; recently the State tried "the lure" of the \$5 "bonus" with the \$60 salary, and the janitorship of the building without any salary, all without avail. The ruralite, who has a wonderful faculty for understanding his own needs and coming to his own relief, has now, not only "consolidated" the schools and offered auto transportation to the pupils, but in some districts is calling upon the voters of his district to decide at special elections, to meet the demands of the time, by increasing the indebtedness of the townships, in order to erect new school buildings. If left alone he will probably "work out his own salvation."

We have one teacher in the county who, evidently absorbed with his studies on pedagogy observed the Scriptural injunction,—*"spare the rod and spoil the child,"* and so when his corrections were met with the raised fist of the student, and he administered the much needed chastisement, he was arrested *"for assault and battery."* Indeed if we may be permitted to judge the needs of the educational work in the county by some of the experiences of the past year, it might be well to employ a permanent solicitor, a magistrate or two, and a special police force.

The only relief in sight at present, is the fact that Mrs. Henry J. Gibbons, of Cynwood, taking her courage in both hands came forward at the last election and asked for a place on the local ticket as school *"directress."* In education as in politics we need women to the rescue.

There is a common saying that *"there is nothing so bad that it might not be worse,"* and so we take pleasure in noting that during the lulls in the educational storm periods of the county some fine work has been done; the high school boys of Norristown have quite excelled themselves in mechanical drawing; and one of



them—Chester Weiss—submitted an original plan of a shirt-iron which has been accepted by the Quaker City shirt factory for use in that plant.

Three hundred and sixty-five articles of clothing have been made in the high and elementary schools of the town for distribution by the Red Cross; and there is a cash balance of \$811.15 in the school funds available for this work.

To some of us the changes in realty are suggestive of nothing more than business; to others it is purely a gamble for profit and to still others it means the making of history in which is often found the touch of romance or the appeal of pathos.

Probably a century ago a country inn was built in Whitpain township, at the cross roads of a hamlet known as Franklinville; there was nothing remarkable about this building architecturally, neither was its location unusually attractive; in 1873 it was bought by Mr. William Singerly, a man of wealth and owner of the Philadelphia Record; Mr. Singerly, though city bred, spent great sums of money in colossal farming enterprises of a character never heard of in the county before this time, and among the wonders installed at what was then known as the "Record Farm," were great barns filled with imported cattle of the finest breeds, and an equipment necessary for a first class dairy. There is much interesting material connected with the history of the farm at this period which cannot be touched upon today, but at Mr. Singerly's death the farm was bought by Dr. Wilson, who used it for years as a summer home.

A few years ago the "Record Farm" was bought by Mr. Ralph B. Strassburger; this gentleman built a high wall around his house which unfortunately having been an inn was "a house that stood close by the road," and having finished this, he called the place "Normandy Farm." Mr. Strassburger is now indulging in the purchase of real estate, and is buying a number of farms between his own and North Wales with a view of owning a magnificent estate in time. Among the improve-





ments made at Normandy farm is a race course patterned after the famous Goodwin course in England, and this course has been laid out over ground particularly favorable to steeplechase races. Last month "Society" met here in full force to "race," and on that occasion entries were made from the best stables in the East. We want to add that Mr. Strassburger displayed a spirit of true country courtesy, when holding his "race meet," by including in his invitations all the small farmers in the district and giving them a thoroughly enjoyable time. We have spoken of this exchange of realty and its development at some length because there is a touch of romance running through its entire history.

We have heard of "The Deserted Village" through Goldsmith's poem, and personally we have seen one over the line in Bucks County, but it was rather startling on taking up the daily paper recently, to see in glaring headlines that "villages were being stamped out," in this county; further investigation into the subject, however, elicited the fact that Port Kennedy and Valley Forge was only being visited by representatives of the "Park Commission," who were placing a value of \$370 per acre on ground desired by the State for extensions.

Among the historic landmarks of the county recently demolished, was the Pennsylvania Female College, chartered in 1853. The materials of the structure will be used by a contractor to build a row of dwellings; but it is gratifying to know that the owner of the property, Mr. Clamer, will erect on the site of the college, a building to the memory of the late Dr. J. Warren Sunderland, who was the founder of this—one of the earliest colleges for the higher education of women in the state.

The "Red Lion" hotel at Ardmore, dating back to Colonial days, having been built in 1742, has been sold to the Auto-Car Company for \$150,000. This old inn before railroads were built was a great stopping place for teamsters who carried freight back and forth be-





tween Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, in Conestoga wagons.

Many important deals have been made in Norristown recently. The Merchants Ice plant has been taken over by a new firm known as the "Norristown Coal and Ice Company," which expresses a great willingness to serve the public in all degrees of the thermometer.

Forty new houses were built in the north end of the town to occupy a lot, 400 feet square, between Brown and Freedley and Powell and Norris streets. They are among the investment propositions of the Norris Pattern Machine Co. This lot was sold for \$20,000.

This is an important item of information, in consideration of present housing conditions, which many of us living in comfortable homes can hardly appreciate, but which can be readily understood when we know that during the summer, on the occasion of a house on Astor street being advertised for rent in The Norristown Times, no less than 200 inquiries were sent in within a few hours. In the "good old times," those of us who had real estate for rent, were most regretful when a tenant moved out, but now our only regret lies in the fact that we cannot accommodate the "waiting line," who are willing to move in; this is one of the opportunities where the gamble in real estate comes in.

The Counties Gas and Electric Company, located at the foot of Swede street, Norristown, has added another large consumer to its already large list. The contract will include furnishing power from our North Borough line to Beechwood, near 69th street, Philadelphia, and from there to Strafford; it already embraces a radius from the City Line to Phoenixville; and from Sumneytown to Paoli. It also furnishes power to the Reading Transit and Light Company, and to a number of factories along the line.

The new fire whistle in the tower of City Hall, Norristown, has probably been heard by most of the people here present. It was highly recommended and later installed by the Gamewell Fire Alarm and Telegraph



Company, of New York; of course we are not familiar with the anatomy of fire whistles, but the "off toots" you some times detect without holding your hands to your ears, we are told, is due to the fact that it has a "diaphragm" which is easily affected by particles of dust getting into its "wind pipes." In spite of this physical defect, however, it has been pronounced "great success" when tested out by Mr. Strosnider, who conducted the installation last June. A number of our citizens were stationed at various parts of the town on that occasion to find out how it sounded, and the reporter of the day tells us, that after the whistle had been "pulled three times on the 57 box call," the gentleman who installed it "pulled out" of town; this whistle can truly be said to "brighten the corner where it is," inasmuch as it seems to be a source of considerable amusement to visitors coming into town—some of whom, as we can testify, have gone into spasms of laughter on hearing it for the first time.

Politics, we feel, is a fitting subject at this point, since it is just possible that some political wire pulling proceded the pull on that fire whistle, and for the first time in the history of the county there has been a dearth of aspirants for political office; at one time during preparations for the fall campaign, it was feared that it would be necessary to resort to conscription in order to make up tickets.

Attorneys Joseph Fornance and Jacob V. Gotwals were given a reception and dinner at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, on Saturday evening, May 17th, in honor of their fifty years service in the active practice at the Montgomery County Bar.

On June 12th, Judge Miller adjourned court in room No. 2, at 10.50 A. M., in order that he, with a number of the attorneys, might attend the wedding of Miss Katherine Kiernan to Dr. Harry C. Podell, at St. Patrick's church; this unprecedented honor which was paid Miss Kiernan by the members of Bench and Bar, was not only due to her efficiency in her official work, but





to a pleasing personality as well, which won for her great popularity with the legal fraternity.

Just now when sugar is "short" and substitute sweets in demand, it is comforting to know that an "Association of Bee Keepers," numbering some 42 members, has been formed. We have studied bees at close range and know that there is not only a store of honey, but a store of knowledge as well due the members of this association.

The bees, however, are not in it with the dogs, i. e. the fashionable, high bred dogs belonging to the Gwynedd Valley Kennel Club. At the annual show held at Ambler in June, all sorts of dogs "hobnobbed," irrespective of size, shape, beauty or breed, in the most friendly fashion, and so charmed the visiting public, that they won a very substantial sum of money for the club, which was handed over to the Chestnut Hill and Abington Memorial hospitals in appreciation of the work done by these institutions during the "flu" epidemic last fall.

The local Garden Club is doing excellent work along its particular lines; it made its work attractive by awarding prizes at the annual show. During the year it had as a guest Mrs. Willis Martin, president of the Garden Club of America. One of the members, Miss Evans, of Curren Terrace, who is especially interested in rose culture, had a rose garden of 500 bushes. At this point it might be interesting to note that the club recently visited the historic Bartram Gardens. Speaking of roses reminds us that, in June, a collection of orchids were bought by Mrs. Dixon, of Elkins Park, for which she paid \$30,000—and this was a "bargain" price; the original cost of the collection having been far in excess of this amount. Some time ago this collection won a \$1000 prize at the Boston Horticultural Society's show.

The Audubon Club recently enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. H. Severn Regar, at his private museum of Natural History, and were treated to a lecture on "Our Friends in Feathers and Furs," given by Silas



A. Lottridge, Ph. D. The lecture was illustrated by colored lantern slides and motion pictures.

The Octave Club has bought a new \$1000. piano, and with two pianos at command it is planning to do Concerto and Symphonic work. American music is receiving special attention at the present time, especially Indian music, for the preservation of which the Government is spending large sums of money. One of the unique features of the May programme was an interpretative dance by Miss Thorley.

Our Press Club grows in popularity as is shown by the royal manner in which it has been entertained during the year. County Commissioner and Mrs. William Warner Harper gave a lawn fete in honor of the scribes at their country estate, "Andorra," Chestnut Hill, where they were taken on a tour of the gardens that are said to be the most beautiful and elaborate in this section of the country; the other features of entertainment were music and interpretative dancing, after which supper was served.

Later the Press League of Bucks and Montgomery Counties were the guests of the Merchants Ship Building Corporation, and given an auto sight-seeing trip through Bristol and Harriman; they visited the great ship yards and were later given a banquet.

Religious celebrations have been quite "the order of the day" in religious circles; and historic churches seem to be growing in number:

The Baptist Church at Colmar, which was founded on June 20th, 1719, and is now 200 years old, fittingly celebrated its bi-centenary recently. The founders of this church were mostly Welsh emigrants, and history tells us that its first pastor preached with a musket standing by his side, and the members also brought their guns to meeting, stacking them outside with one of their number as a guard.

The Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, at Ambler, celebrated the 85th anniversary of its founding recently; this church organization antedates the borough of Ambler by 40 years.





St. John's Lutheran Church, Centre Square, Pa., celebrated the 150th anniversary of its founding in June of this year (1919). This old church was used as a military hospital during the Revolutionary War.

St. Peter's Lutheran Church, at Barren Hill, founded in 1752, has been fortunate in finding its early records presumed to have been lost; they were discovered in an old garret where they had been placed many years ago and forgotten.

The Presbyterian Church, corner of Airy and DeKalb streets, Norristown, known as the "Brown Church," will begin the celebration of the 100th anniversary of its founding soon.

"Old Swedes" Episcopal Church, Swedesburg, Pa., celebrated the 159th anniversary of its founding in June. This church was chartered as a Swedish Lutheran Church, but as Lutheran preachers could not be procured at one time in its early history, the trustees were given permission by the head of the church in Sweden to engage Episcopal preachers to fill the pulpit, and in this way the congregation gradually drifted away from the Lutheran denomination.

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church is having a campaign to raise \$8000 for the adornment of the church. Among the gifts to this church is a life size statue of St. Patrick, in bronze; it is to be placed over the main entrance; this statue was designed in the Josef Sibbel Studio, New York, and is the gift of James A. Murphy, in memory of his brother—the late John E. Murphy.

There have been a number of deaths during the past year throughout the county, among them quite a number of prominent people, notably, Miss Clara Gilbert, one of our most faithful welfare workers of our time. Miss Gilbert was vice-president, and a charter member of Charity Hospital, and a director in the local Needlework Guild.

Miss Ida Rynick, well known in this borough and for many years chorister of the Central Presbyterian Church.





Mother Mary St. Chantal for many years one of the Mothers Superior of St. Joseph's Protectory.

F. M. Summerill, president and manager of the Summerill Tubing Company, of Bridgeport, Pa.

D. Dawson Yeakle, superintendent of the Springfield Consolidated Water Co.

Brother Cecilian, who was connected with the Fatland Protectory, and a religious brother since 1841.

F. B. Stritzinger, one of the oldest and best known business men in the community, and one of the largest real estate owners in the Borough of Norristown.

John A. Murphy, former Opera House owner and real estate dealer.

Dr. Charles B. Hugh, a prominent physician of Ambler, Pa.

William Bennett, a veteran of the Civil War.

William B. Kilpatrick, publisher and editor of the North Wales Record.

Senator John A. Wentz, of Fort Washington, a member of this Society.

Mr. Rush B. Smith.

Mrs. Mae Hunsicker, wife of Clifton Hunsicker, of The Norristown Times, and a member of this Society.

Mr. George W. Roberts.

Mrs. J. K. Weaver, wife of Dr. J. K. Weaver. Member.

Dr. J. E. Brecht, Mrs. W. W. Dill and Mrs. Annie Wilson, of Conshohocken, Pa.

Rev. C. S. Wiend, founder of Perkiomen Seminary in 1875, of Philadelphia, Pa.

A shaft to the memory of Grant R. M'Glathery has been erected over his grave in Riverside Cemetery, by Curtis Lodge, No. 239, Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

A bronze statue of the late Adjutant General Thomas J. Stewart, of Norristown, and president of the Times Publishing Company, of Norristown, has been placed in the rotunda of the State Capitol at Harrisburg.



The H. C. Carney Memorial Monument at Riverside Cemetery was the gift of residents of Norristown, Pa., as a tribute to the deceased, who was recognized as the borough's most capable leader in the organization of public demonstrations during the World War. Mr. Carney was also well known to the poor of the town, to whose hearts he brought many an hour of happiness.





## THE RECORD OF A HIKE ON THE BETHLEHEM PIKE

By EDWARD B. PHILLIPS

### *The Turnpike Company and the Branchtown Terminal*

Acquaint yourself with the history and people of a prominent thoroughfare and you will have a fair idea of the happenings and life of that locality, for, usually, all important events and people seem to have, or have had, some connection with such thoroughfares.

An old homestead may be passed with but a casual glance, yet from its doors have issued recruits for Revolutionary, Civil War and world armies, leaving behind heartaches, heart-throbs, fears and anticipations which were but an echo of those of the nation of which the old homestead is a part.

This was written and the hike over the pike taken during the week of mobilizing the drafted men of the world's army, when these parting scenes were being witnessed on all sides.

From these doors have also come forth those who have made our laws, tilled our farms, managed our factories and mercantile houses, directed the affairs of our colleges and filled our pulpits, thus adding to the material, mental and moral strength of our nation.

### *Extent of the Pike*

Such a highway lined with such homes is the old Limekiln pike, which extends from the Butler pike, near Ambler, in Upper Dublin Township, Montgomery County, to Branchtown, in Philadelphia; the telling of its story being the object of this sketch.

This is one of the oldest highways in the State, and previous to its becoming a turnpike consisted of a series of township roads passing through Bristol, Cheltenham, Abington and Upper Dublin Townships.



Running parallel with, and being midway between old York road and Bethlehem pike, its reach of ten miles was, and is still, an important outlet for the farmers and villages of that fertile region.

Before it became a turnpike its southern terminus was at Church lane, near the old Townsend-Lukens-Roberts grist mill, the first built in that part of the country, which figured in the reports of the battle of Germantown and where that battle was practically lost. On the southwest corner of this disused terminal of the road was the Roberts homestead, which had for its neighbor across the street the Spencer homestead, formerly known as the Godfrey place, where Thomas Godfr y, the inventor of the quadrant, was born and raised.

When the turnpike company took possession of the highway it changed its course some 400 or 500 yards from Church lane, running it across the Spencer farm to its present terminus at Branchtown, thus avoiding the hill on Church lane.

### *The Turnpike Corporation*

For the purpose of straightening and otherwise improving this highway the Limekiln Turnpike Company, with a capital of \$25,000, was formed, and a charter was granted to it in January, 1850, being signed by Governor Johnston, this being the outstanding event of that administration.

The turnpike was completed in 1851 at an amazingly small cost when compared with the cost of road building in these days. At that time laborers were paid \$1.50 a day, or less, teams and materials being correspondingly low.

The turnpike reached from Branchtown to Jarrettown, that part of Limekiln road from Jarrettown to Butler pike not being taken over by the turnpike company.

At Jarrettown the Limekiln pike connects with the Jarrettown and Horsham turnpike.

Several years ago the turnpike company sold to Philadelphia the two miles of the pike within the city





limits for \$19,200, and the officials of the company contend that the bridges and other property of the company on the remainder of the pike are worth at least \$50,000 more. The State may soon take these at some other price.

There are at present three toll houses on the pike, one in Cheltenham township, on the trolley line, just outside the city limits, one at Edge Hill, in Abington township, and one at Dreshertown, in Upper Dublin. The toll collected seems to be used for the upkeep of the toll houses and not the roadbed. The cost of running the turnpike in 1916 was \$4000. No dividends have been paid for two years.

### *A Cooling Stew*

I might be in possession of more facts about the business end of the turnpike had not a lady interrupted my quest for them. After calling at two hotels in Ambler, on the day of my hike, and making numerous inquiries I finally located an official of the turnpike company at his new home on the outskirts of that growing town.

While working the third information degree on him, a lady's voice was heard saying: "Mr. Official, your stew is getting cold."

"Never mind," said he.

"But," said she, "it was all ready when that man came in."

That man soon got out, followed by the frowns of the lady, who sat at the stew table in an adjoining stew room.

### *A Glorious September Day*

Knowing a few things about Limekiln pike—having walked on sections of it—and desiring to know more, I decided to hike it from one end to the other, and thus get, first handed, all the information that eyes, questions and ears could procure.

September 17, 1917, the day I walked the pike, was a glorious day, one of the grandest that ever came from the hands of a kind Creator. Frost in the air, dew on





the grass, sun shining without let or hindrance, birds twittering the voices of nature seemingly uniting in a joyously sublime anthem to their Author, the Giver of all good things.

Hundreds of robins, on their way south, loitered on the estates bordering the pike, reminding me that summer was in the past and fall was at hand. The turning of the leaves emphasized this fact and added to the beauty and glories of the day.

### *Branchtown and Its Church*

Having walked up the pike it will be necessary to begin my description of it at the lower end.

Branchtown, the terminal of the campaign of 1777.

At the junction of the pike and Church lane (or Spencer street) stands the House of Prayer, of the Episcopal Church. Here it was that my mother, Elizabeth Brewin Phillips, was confirmed by Bishop Stevens and where I was baptized as a lad; one of my baptismal sponsors being Mrs. Annie DeBenneville Mears, author of that interesting descriptive book "Old York Road," the other being Mrs. Thompson, a sister of the late Jay Cooke, of Ogontz.

This parish was organized in 1860, but meetings had been held in the neighborhood by those interested in the project for three years previous to that date.

The gift of a piece of ground had been conveyed to the Society for the Advancement of Christianity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1858, by Annie De Benneville Mears, on which the church was built in 1862. It had been intended as a memorial chapel to her great-grandfather, "George DeBenneville, who had been received by baptism, when an infant, into the folds of the church. The good Queen Ann, his sponsor, had the care of his early years, the mother dying soon after he saw the light of day. He died March 20, 1793, a man of high and universal esteem through life and equally lamented in death."

The church building was consecrated in 1863 by Bishop Stevens, twenty-three other clergymen being



present. Charles D. Barney, of Ogontz, was superintendent of the Sunday school and his wife, a daughter of Jay Cooke, was my teacher when I attended the school as a boy.

Many well-known men have ministered here, including B. Wister Morris, since Bishop of Oregon. The present rector is the Rev. H. G. G. Vincent.

The widening and lowering of Church lane and the pike at this point is interfering with the buildings of this parish and will, possibly, mean the removal of the rectory.

### *From Branchtown to Washington Lane*

From Branchtown to Pittville and beyond great changes are taking place along the Limekiln pike. The fields, across which formerly you could see people walking and driving along streets beyond, are now being transformed by building operations costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, and I dare say that within the next five years many more thousands of new homes will be erected, costing millions of dollars.

Walking up the pike about one-third of a mile, one reaches the abrupt turn in the road made by the turn-pike company. To the left are the sites of the Godfrey house, Roberts' mill and the hamlet that grew up around the old mill. Only one of the old buildings is standing at this date.

### *Covenant Presbyterian Church*

Turning the bend in the road and walking a couple of squares, Cheltenham avenue is reached upon the southeast corner of which stands Covenant Presbyterian Church.

This organization is one of the most progressive in North Philadelphia. It was organized December 29, 1910, by consolidating the Somerville Mission, which had been fostered, under the direction of Jacob C. Bockius, by the First Presbyterian Church of Germantown for over thirty years, and the Eastminster Mission, a ward, for five years, of the Second Presbyterian





Church of Germantown, under the leadership of the Rev. H. W. Hathaway.

Mr. Bockius was installed as superintendent of the combined Sunday schools, and Mr. Hathaway as pastor of the new church April 1, 1911. Some might presume that this was an April fool joke, but the saloon and other corrupting elements in the community think otherwise, for the pastor certainly "hath a way" of keeping things on the move and bringing well-laid plans to maturity.

The church started with 212 members, now the membership is 622, while that of the Sunday school is 1029.

The church plant, including the building lot, is worth \$35,000, while the contemplated new edifice will increase this to \$100,000.

### *A School and an Orphanage*

Crossing the avenue, the William L. Kinsey Public School is soon reached. This splendid building was finished last year (1916) at a cost of \$350,000. It has at present thirty-seven class rooms, with accommodations for 1750 children, which may be increased to 2200.

In the rear of this school property, on Ogontz avenue, are the fine grounds and buildings of the Orphanage of the Odd Fellows of Pennsylvania.

### *Pittville's Revolutionary Memories*

Several squares above the school is Pittville, a very old village, through which passes at a right angle with the pike East Haines street, an important highway that runs from Germantown avenue to Old York road.

During the Revolutionary period this road was known as Meeting House lane, deriving its name from the meeting house of the Methodists near Germantown avenue and now known as the First Methodist Church of Germantown and occupying a cathedral-like structure at Germantown avenue and High street.

The similarity of the names Meeting House and Church lanes led to confusion in the attack of the American army upon the British at Germantown, Oc-



tober 4, 1777, and was one of the contributing causes of the failure of that campaign. General Stephens, who was in charge of one of the divisions of General Greene's army, marching down Limekiln road, turned west on this lane, instead of continuing on the road to Church lane, where he was to join Colonel Mathews and others in a "drive" on the right wing of the British forces. Instead, he ran into another body of American troops, mistaking them and being mistaken, for enemies. They fired upon each other, thus upsetting Washington's plan for a surprise attack upon the enemy's right wing, and losing the day.

Three of the corners at the junction of these roads are occupied by the old tollhouse, a general merchandise store and a hotel, which, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, never change.

### *The National Cemetery*

On the northwest corner is the National Cemetery, one of the most suggestive and sacred spots in North Philadelphia. This was formerly the Ashmead estate and was bought in 1885 by the national government for \$15,000—less than half the sum the owner had expended for repairs and improvements but a short time before.

It is a beautiful spot and an appropriate place for the 4000 of the nation's dead who are buried here. At the head of each grave is a white marble slab which contains in most cases the name, state and arm of service to which the occupant belonged. But there are several hundred nameless ones.

As I entered the gateway on that beautiful September morn, the old flag was floating from a high staff among the trees, bidding the passerby to come and see where its defenders lay.

On my left was a bronze tablet with a record of the place, and near it was another with Lincoln's Gettysburg speech inscribed thereon.

Turning to the right, I walked along a row of stones, reading the names of those who lay beneath and noting





that on this particular row of stones were Pennsylvania, New York, U. S. A., U. S. M. While thus reading there arose before me visions of Gettysburg, Antietam, Petersburg, Richmond, prison camps, hospitals, Cuba, Philippines, sorrowful homes, sad farewells, joyful homecomings and incidents many which are of constant occurrence in war times.

Yes, it is a suggestive spot and must be seen to be understood.

### *A Tragedy of 1777*

Leaving the grounds by the side gate I continued my hike up the pike and soon came to the Middleton place, on the right of the road. There are some very old spruce and pine trees surrounding this house which speak louder than words of the age of this homestead. It is the third house above the old tollgate, and at the time of the Revolution was known as the Andrew place.

When the British occupied Germantown in 1777 they had pickets stationed near here. Early in the morning of October 4, as the Americans came down the pike, their advance guards came in touch with these pickets and a fight resulted. Isaac Woods, who was standing at a cellar door of this house watching the fighting, was killed by a stray bullet. It is supposed the British retreated across the ground now occupied by the National Cemetery. Perhaps some were buried there.

### *Changes at Cedar Park*

A short distance beyond this house is the former entrance, with its stone posts, to the old Cedar Park farm, formerly owned by Robert Steele, where many full-blooded horses—trotters and pacers—were bred and trained. I remember the visits made, when a lad, to the old race track here. The place is now being covered with neat looking villas, and soon the old farm, with its stables and race course, will be but a memory.

This brings us to Washington lane, an important highway connecting Germantown, Jenkintown and the Old York road. At the junction of the pike and lane





a village has grown up, formerly called Pleasantville, but now known as Cedar Park. The hotel on the corner has borne that name for a long time.

A short distance above Washington lane is the building of the former Calvary Mission, which was organized into a regular body last May at the Cedar Park Presbyterian Church, with 126 charter members. The Rev. Dr. William Barnes Lower, while pastor at Wyncote, ministered here for a number of years.

A short distance down Washington lane is Cheltenham Hills Cemetery, in which is the crematory, or incinerating plant. It was here that a woman had her fourth husband cremated some time ago. Among the party that attended the service was a sweet-faced, elderly maiden who remarked to a friend that in spite of her winsome ways and strenuous efforts she had failed to win a husband and thus change her name, while that widow in black had husbands to burn.

### *From the City Line to Edge Hill*

A few more steps brought me to the city line. On the Philadelphia side is a metal sign inscribed: "Philadelphia—Northwest City Line—9 Miles to City Hall—A. D. 1908—John E. Reyburn, Mayor."

As I crossed the line a peculiar, exhilarating feeling swept over me, for I realized that I was entering the promised land of culture, juicy fruit and mushroom rooms.

On my right were the white, clean-looking buildings of the Widener estate, and on my left was a neat white stone house, typical of the folks in whose county I was.

Crossing the trolley tracks a little distance from the city line, I passed the first tollhouse, where an enlargement to the plant, in the form of an auto shed, was being made. While asking questions here, I was impressed with the thought that more care was taken in lassoing tolls than in keeping the roadbed in repair.

On the crest of the hill, just beyond the tollhouse, is the Bozzell homestead, with its substantial building, and adjoining this is the Fenton farm, with several old buildings. A pear tree in the yard is reputed to be



over 125 years old by Mr. Carr, the present occupant of the place. I was very much impressed with the white enameled watering trough in the yard. On a hot day I imagine it would temptingly invite one to take a bath in its capacious reservoir.

Up the pike a little farther is the second trolley crossing, at which repairs to the trolley roadbed were being made by three white laborers under the direction of a cute fat darkey. Just beyond was a scattered deck of cards, which, I presume, this same cute fat darkey foreman had persuaded his men to discard.

### *At Gray Towers*

While jotting down that observation the chimes in Mr. Harrison's mansion, Gray Towers, nearly opposite, reminded me that it was 9.30 A. M.

Gray Towers, with its battlemented parapets, makes an imposing picture and looked grand on that September morn, with a large new "Old Glory" floating in the breeze.

The surroundings of this "castle" are beautiful, the trees and shrubbery are well placed and the lawns, which had been taken possession of that day by hundreds of south-bent robins, are well kept. I enjoyed the trees, flowers and lawn immensely—more so, perhaps, than if I had to pay for cutting the grass and trimming the trees.

A considerable part of this noble estate, including the lodge and several gateways, is on the pike. The sum required to bring this property to its present condition must be enormous. Tourists may enjoy it without money and without price.

The north side of this estate is on Church road, which must have been extensively used by Washington and his army while they encamped in Whitmarsh valley, just beyond.

Crossing this historic road and passing through the Harmer Hill hamlet, I saw across the meadow to my right Glenside, nestling among the trees; its public school buildings standing out very prominently.





### *Information Difficult to Get*

On top of the hill that was easily climbed is Waverly road, on the southwest corner of which is situated the Judge Ellcock old estate, with its brown mansion and tin-covered stone gate-posts. This property is now owned by Mrs. Fels, and is used by the LaGrange Vacation Home Association, where a number of store girls from the city have their summer outing.

My experiences in getting information at this point leads me to say that we do not know the street we live on, nor even our neighbors.

The people on the opposite corner did not know who the folks were that used the Vacation Home—only that they were a lot of girls, probably Jews.

This neighborly property was enclosed by a high chicken fence, the gate, being locked, on which was a card containing the information that we might ring the bell on the gate and beware of the dogs. After ringing the bell we did our talking through a high pale fence. Those people were certainly a bunch of shut-ins.

### *A Rural School*

Climbing another hill on the pike, I came to the Edge Hill public school building, a modern structure, the janitor of which told me that it was attended largely by negro and Italian children. Just as he imparted this information the children came rushing into the lawn-like yard from the school, and I was thus enabled to verify his assertion. I also understood why the place was formerly called Guineatown.

I asked one of the teachers, who was standing on the steps, one or two questions about the locality, but she was unable to answer them, saying they just came up from the city to teach. Local history should be taught in all public schools and by teachers properly informed on the subject.

### *Inspecting Old Tombstones*

Adjoining this school is a small plot of ground enclosed with a tall iron fence. This is the mysterious private burying ground for negroes. Pushing my way



through the tall weeds, I found several headstones. An old broken stone conveyed no information to me. The others were inscribed as follows: "Jane Montier, 1814-1859"; "Anna Matilda Hilton, 1839-1888" "Caroline H. Mullin, 1842-1864."

All women—where are the men?

With a little attention and paint this could be made an attractive little spot. I presume a sum of money was set apart for the care of this enclosure. Where is it now?

### *Edge Hill's Former Industries*

The village of Edge Hill is situated in the corners of Springfield, Upper Dublin, Abington and Cheltenham townships. Its site is high, being on the southeast side of the eminence from which it derived its name. The tracks of the railroad here are 284 feet above the Delaware tidewater at Philadelphia, and 123 feet higher than Fort Washington.

Around this place were stationed a number of American troops during the period of the Whitemarsh encampment.

Later it became a center for ore smelting, the Edge Hill Furnace Company being here.

Large hot-blast stoves and furnaces were built in 1869, one stack measuring sixteen by sixty-four feet. The annual capacity of this company was 18,000 tons.

The business seemed to droop until Joseph E. Thropp, a native of Valley Forge, took hold of it and brought it to a good paying condition, after a hard struggle and some opposition. Mr. Thropp was, upon several occasions, urged to run for Congress, but declined.

The business continued prosperous for a number of years and then gradually declined, until now there is hardly any trace of it left.

Edge Hill is now growing as a suburban residential district and will soon be merged into Glenside, which adjoins it on the southeast, and has North Glenside as a northeast neighbor.





### *The Walk Through the Village*

The old part of the village is on the pike and includes the Eagle Hotel, several stores, a fire house, with a large steel ring for an alarm, a blacksmith shop and several very ancient houses.

There are two churches in the village, a negro Baptist and the Edge Hill Presbyterian. The latter is a strong church, being attended by the Presbyterians of Glenside. The Rev. Joseph B. C. Mackie, who recently resigned as pastor, did a big work there, building up the congregation and leaving behind a large corps of active men to carry on the work. He left America and civilization to settle in New Jersey. His successor is the Rev. Guy L. Morrill, from New York State, who was installed as pastor a few days after I passed through the place.

In S. Earl Hoover they have a very active man for clerk of the session. I began to ask him about the history of Edge Hill and its institutions. His reply was characteristic of the man: "You've got me guessing. I don't know. I guess I will have to read up. You know we are told to take off our hats to the past and our coats to the future. My coat has been off all the time."

"But," said I, "a man can read with his coat off."

The Jenkintown road and Carmel avenue are merged into the pike for a short distance in the village, the tollgate being at the junction of these roads. They sell ice cream at the tollhouse, but being a cool day when I passed, the invitation to partake did not appeal to me as it would have done on a warmer day.

Just above the tollgate are a number of very fine sycamore, willow and poplar trees. North Glenside, just beyond, has many neat bungalows and villas.

### *Through Fitzwatertown and Dreshertown*

Half a mile or more up the pike from Edge Hill are the fine links and club houses of the LuLu Temple Country Club. At 11.30 o'clock I was descending the hill on the crest of which the club house stood and soon





reached the junction of Willow Grove pike, Jenkin-town road and Limekiln pike. Here nestling in a valley is Fitzwatertown, with its old and quaint little buildings.

This village is in the southern part of Upper Dublin, in the fertile valley of Sandy Run, and abounded at one time in limestone, iron ore and limekilns. I presume Limekiln pike derived its name from this fact.

The value of the lime produced in this vicinity in 1840 was nearly \$20,000.

This is a very old settlement, where Thomas Fitzwater followed lumbering before the summer of 1705 and had a grist mill erected at an early period. This mill is now in ruins, in the corner of which I found a litter of four yelping puppies. Another corner had been wired off for chickens and pigeons.

In addition to the mill, the village formerly contained a general store, a hotel, still there, and where the meetings of the Limekiln Pike Company are now held, a wheelwright and blacksmith shop and about twelve houses. The postoffice was established here before 1858.

Edge Hill station, of the North Penn Railroad, is about one mile from here.

### *Contracted Outlooks*

I cannot understand why this place did not grow. Possibly the reason may be found in the fact that it lacked a historical society and a church. A live newspaper in the village might wake it up.

The old toll house here is now occupied by a colored gentleman and his very large family, the collecting of toll having been discontinued some months before.

I asked one of the lads how far it was to Dresher-town. He didn't even know where it was, and yet it was only one mile away. His vision of life was contracted, shut in by the hills around about his home; his world was Sandy Run Valley, knowing nothing of the great world beyond the hills.

In more than one sense we are like him. We have



contracted visions or outlooks of life and need to climb the hills or mountains and look from an elevated position upon the great world around us, with its mighty problems to be solved.

### *A Splendid View*

After a little climb, the top of the hill, known as Woodburn Heights, was reached. Here lie buried the hopes of a land speculator who gave it its name and tried in vain to sell building sites upon it.

As we descended the west side of the hill we were enraptured with the view of the valley to the left, which was largely occupied by the Meehan nurseries. The hibiscuses, mallow-marvels, hydrangeas and other fall flowers were in bloom. These, added to the blocks of evergreens and other trees and shrubbery made a picture upon which we feasted our souls while we fed our body with a lunch from our kit. Those were pleasant moments spent on the hillside that noon hour in September.

With such pictures within one's vision and surroundings vibrant with the voices and music of nature, is it any wonder that one should feel that astral companions are near, sharing in the glories of the hour and causing us to use the plural in expressing our feelings and experiences?

### *Queer Highway Conditions*

At the foot of the hill the pike makes a curve which enables it to pass under the same bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad as the Susquehanna street road. This arrangement is but a recent one, having been made to save the expense of an additional bridge.

From the bridge to the tollgate, several hundred yards away, these two roads run alongside of each other and in spots on the same level. The reason for this condition of affairs is the fact that the persons who gave the ground for the Susquehanna road at this point did so on condition that it should always be a free road.





When an effort was made to have the pike and road run over the same roadbed for this short distance, the heirs of the donors objected and it was taken into court, the court deciding in their favor.

This condition causes confusion in collecting toll. If a toll jumper, or descendant of Ananias and Saphira, who has used the pike, says he came up the Susquehanna road, he does not have to pay, but, like their progenitors, they are very often found out, for the tollgate keeper has her scouts out and they do effective work.

### *In Dreshertown*

This tollgate is in Dreshertown, named after the Dresher family, which came to Pennsylvania from Silesia in 1734.

Being at the junction of these two roads and the terminus of Camp Hill, or Dreshertown road, it attained a position of some importance and was the voting place of Upper Dublin township until Jarrettown wrested that distinction from her.

The Meehan nurseries furnish the bulk of the business for the railroad station, near the bridge.

Between the station and bridge was pointed out to me the Potter house, a brown stone building, which was reputed to have been the headquarters of General Potter during the Whitemarsh encampment, in the rear being a stone vault, partly under ground, which was used for storing salt, and is now called the salt cellar, from which the salt cellars we now use on our tables derived their name.

Camp Hill and other eminences may be seen but a short distance away.

The keeper of the tollgate is Mrs. Fenton, who had an injured husband and five small children, and who, in addition to collecting tolls, keeps a store, sells gasoline to autoists, makes jams, preserves, etc., some of which called her into the kitchen while we were talking—I didn't smell it. She surely has her hands full, but found time to tell me about the neighborhood and



imparted to me the information about the Potter house. We had met before.

She also directed me to Mr. Kirk, who lived part way up the next hill, as one who was a stockholder in the turnpike company and who could tell me "lots" about it.

I called at his place and found him and his amiable wife picking peaches in a fine orchard. I was more than glad to find them thus occupied, for they certainly do grow juicy peaches. How do I know? Well, guess! They also imparted information to me about the pike and the Friends' meeting in the county, for they are Hicksite Quakers.

### *Jarrettown and the End of the Journey*

Much refreshed I continued my walk up the pike, beyond Dreshertown, passing several very pleasant homesteads, until I reached Jarrettown, the second largest village in Upper Dublin, situated very near the center of the township. This place was named after the Jarrett family, which seems now to be extinct in the neighborhood.

Jarrettown is a neat little village with a three-story Odd Fellows' building, a two-story stone public school, which was being fumigated the day I was there, owing to the appearance of a case of diphtheria among its pupils, a hotel, several stores, a stone Methodist Church building and a number of neat homesteads.

### *Visiting the Parson*

Several roads form a junction with the pike at this point. Having had the pleasure of speaking in the Methodist Church several years ago, when the Rev. Cldye Holston was pastor, I called upon the present pastor, the Rev. Dr. Charles M. Haddaway, for information and soon learned that we had met before.

I called his attention to the fact that the Rev. H. W. Hathaway, a "live wire," ministered to a church at the lower end of the pike, while he, Haddaway, ministered at this end.





"Yes," he said, "my name indicates that I am in the past tense."

His name fitted him well before he was married. Then he "had a way" of his own. Still he is pushing matters and believes that the front yard and walks should be cleaned up, as well as the pantry.

As a result of his efforts the grass in the street has been cut, electric lights will soon be installed in the town and efforts made to have a trolley line run through the town on its way from Norristown to Willow Grove.

I reminded him that a baldheaded man said in my presence the day before, when twitted about the appearance of his head, that "grass did not grow on busy streets."

The church was organized in 1865 and observed its jubilee just two years ago by a week of special rallies, including an historical night.

Their first building was erected in 1866. This was blown down in the tornado of 1896 and rebuilt the same year, being dedicated in 1897.

Miss Smith, who lives next to the parsonage, proved to be an encyclopedia of information. My mother's cousin married a man named Smith, which makes me related to the Smiths.

### *Roads Out of Jarrettown*

I hastened away at 3.40 to escape the next tornado.

Several old houses at the upper end of the village indicated that the place is of a ripe old age.

Near where one of these old buildings stood was a signboard which read, "Willow Grove, 3 miles. Hatboro, 4."

The same serious defect is noticed here as elsewhere in the county—the omission of the name of the road on the signpost.

The Limekiln turnpike ends here and becomes the Limekiln road, turning a little to the west and thus running until it reaches Butler pike, two miles away.

A turnpike road continues to the northwest for two





miles, under the name of the Jarrettown and Horsham turnpike, and then merged into the Whitehall turnpike at the terminus of the Butler pike. The sides of the triangle formed by the Butler pike, the Limekiln pike and the Jarrettown and Horsham pike are two miles in length.

Limekiln road, from Jarrettown to Engertown road, is tar-covered and lined with comfortable homesteads fronted by well-kept lawns, the view across the valley to the left being a dreamy, pleasant one.

On this side of the road, about midway between the points mentioned, is the Anne Elizabeth tearoom, with its unique signs, the style of the kettle on one of them being that in vogue in the days of the ark. The tea room is in a three-story mansion standing back from the road.

### *A Rural Quaker Meeting*

At the northwest corner of Limekiln and Engertown roads is the Upper Dublin "Hicksite" Friends' Meeting, an aged organization, with but few members left to keep up its meetings, which may account for the unkept condition of its front yard, the grass and weeds being too high for a Friends' Meeting property. The paths and driveway have the appearance of not being much used. An old three-steps-high mounting stone is one of the features of the place.

The cemetery in the rear of the meeting house and sheds is more tidily kept than is the front yard. No one being in sight from whom I might obtain information, I consulted the headstones and learned that here were buried members of many families who early settled in that region, including Shoemaker, White, Conrad, Garigues, Paxton, Jarrett, Walton, Yerkes, Teas, Tyson, Jones, Wright, Potts, Reiff, Kenderdine, Matlack, Dunnett, Atkinson, Creamer, Shaw, Cadwallader, Marks, Iredell, Thomas and others.

Two G. A. R. flags, which were being moved by the breeze, reminded me that in this quiet place two defenders of the Union were quietly waiting for the bugle call to "fall in" on the great resurrection morn.



### *Teaching Horticulture to Women*

About one-half mile beyond this bivouac of the dead is the School of Horticulture for Women, which is training young women to live and help others to live. It is a pretty spot and well worth a visit, especially from bachelors, who here might find a soulmate trained to grow fruit and vegetables and to transform them into jells, jams, juices and other appetizing things that soulmates secretly enjoy.

Miss Elizabeth Leighton Lee, director general of the school, received me cordially and very kindly answered questions, gave me lots of printed matter and invited me to tarry and look the place over. The school seems to be well organized, with a board of directors composed of twenty-five well known women, several of the officers being neighbors of mine.

The course of study and practice includes such subjects as bees, fruit canning, preserving, drying, floriculture, landscape gardening and grafting, vegetables, poultry, etc. The teaching staff is a strong one.

There are numerous buildings on the school farm, including the jam kitchen where a stock of jams and other angel food is kept in stock and may be purchased by visitors, a price list being amongst the printed matter on hand. I was very sorry indeed that I could not linger amid such surroundings.

### *To Ambler by Way of Butler Pike*

Continuing my hike, I soon came to the end of the road at Butler pike, where they were tearing down the tollhouse opposite the road, Butler pike having just had its shackles stricken off and thus freed from the bondage of toll.

The foreman of the men who had demolished the place and were making repairs to the pike was so uncertain about the names of the roads in the vicinity and so misinformed about others that I am led to suggest to the officials of the Horticultural School that they add to their list of studies one on topography and that they invite highway foremen to enter the class.





Walking down the pike toward Ambler, I passed Puff's Church, with its ancient cemetery, also Rose Hill Cemetery, which contains several unique headstone features. The church and the cemetery are on opposite corners of Susquehanna Street road.

I spoke to the men of this church one evening, and, while in the midst of an oratorical flight the gas gave out and we were plunged into darkness. I finished my discourse by the light of a hand lantern that was placed in the aisle. I have talked many persons to sleep but that was the first and only time I had the joy of putting a gas plant "on the blink."

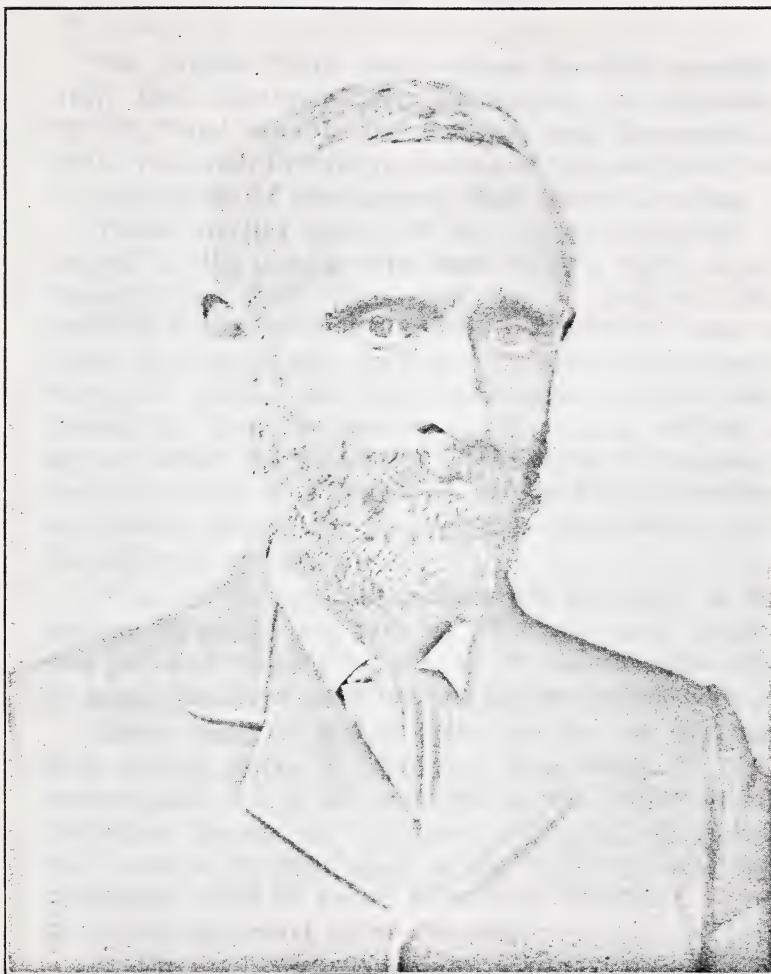
Farther down the pike there hove into sight the chapel of the combined flocks of Adventists, Baptists, Dunkards, Mennonite, etc., with a cemetery in the rear. Adjoining this was the colored folks' cemetery. Which leads me to say that all kinds of folks can be accommodated after death on Butler pike.

Passing Rose Valley, I soon entered Ambler, where I sought information about the business end of Limekiln turnpike from one of its officials and nearly got into a stew in doing so.

I started to keep tab on questions asked on the hike, but gave up the task after passing the hundred mark.

Thus, at the end of a perfect day, one of the most enjoyable of my life, ended my hike on the pike.





EDWARD MATHEWS



## "E. M."—INTENSIVE HISTORIAN

By Edward W. Hocker

For almost forty years—from the late seventies until 1916—historical articles bearing the signature "E. M.," and notable for the care and thoroughness of the research involved, appeared at frequent intervals in newspapers of Montgomery and Bucks Counties.

These articles were not of a type calculated to appeal to the reader who was looking for a story. Usually they dealt with some limited tract of land, perhaps a single farm. In the judgment of most of those acquainted with the site in question, nothing ever happened there. But these newspaper articles went intensively into the record of the place, telling in minute detail the successive transfers of the property from the time of Penn down to the time of writing and giving also much genealogical information about the different owners.

It is safe to say that seventy-five per cent. of the readers skipped these articles. But the other twenty-five per cent. regarded them as of highest value, and in many instances cut them out and preserved them.

Today many a seeker after the lore of the past goes to this mass of historical data which "E. M." accumulated. It is all contained in the library of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, and, being well indexed, it gives quick access to many facts that otherwise could be found only after laborious search in church and court house records.

As the years pass the importance of this collection becomes more and more evident. It was therefore deemed fitting to place in print in the Historical Society's publications some account of this industrious historian, Edward Mathews. Then it was found that





almost nothing about him was in print. The date of his death ascertained, but when the newspaper files of that period were consulted they revealed not a word about him.

However, the library of the Society possesses the diaries of Edward Mathews, from 1880 until the end of 1915, he having bequeathed these diaries, as well as his eight scrap books, to the society. A reading of the diaries was supplemented by correspondence with living relatives and visits to several of them. Thus it has become possible to make some attempt to depict the characteristics and methods of work of a man who is worthy of much honor as a local historian.

He was born February 9, 1837, in which is now the borough of New Britain, in Bucks County, about three miles from the Montgomery County line. There the Mathew family had lived on a farm for several generations. His mother was of the Meredith family. Both the Mathews and the Merediths were among the early Welsh Baptists who settled in New Britain and Hilltown townships, Bucks County, and Montgomery township, Montgomery County. Through his mother Edward Mathews was descended from the Rev. William Thomas, first minister of the Hilltown Baptist Church, founded in 1737 as a mission of the old Montgomery Baptist Church. In 1754 another mission of the Montgomery Church was established at New Britain. With this the Mathews and the Merediths were identified.

The boy was educated in the schools of New Britain. His taste for reading led him to become an apprentice in the printing office of the Bucks County Intelligencer, in Doylestown.

From childhood his health was frail. After learning to set type, he spent some time at home on the farm. For several winters in succession he went to North Adams, Mass., and worked in a newspaper office there.

In 1878, when Wilmer M. Johnson became proprietor of the North Wales Record, Edward Mathews was employed with that weekly newspaper and made his home



in North Wales. From then on his articles on local history were a regular feature of the Record, and Mr. Johnson is entitled to credit for encouraging Mr. Mathews' aspirations as a writer.

He served as a reporter for the North Wales paper, collecting the news of the surrounding region and he continued to write for the *Intelligencer*, in Doylestown, specializing in Bucks County local history for that paper and also preparing editorials for it.

In the eighties and the nineties he established similar connection with the *Lansdale Republican*, the *Ambler Gazette*, the *Skippack Transcript* and the *Harleysville News*. For a few years he contributed to the *Norristown Herald*.

From his diaries, beginning in 1880, it is possible to obtain glimpses of his widespread industry. Several times a week he made trips for news through the region from Flourtown on the south to Harleysville on the north. Mostly he traveled afoot. He was well known to the people of this region, in the towns, villages and rural districts. Incidentally he also collected money due the various publishers for subscriptions.

As he became familiar with the country to that degree of intimacy which is possible only by traveling afoot, he took up the study of the history of different old houses and extensive farms. He would go to Norristown or Doylestown and search the records in the offices of the Recorder of Deeds and the Register of Wills. This thoroughness is what now gives great value to his papers. In several townships there is scarcely an acre the complete account of which does not appear in his articles. His principal historical work in Montgomery County covered Upper and Lower Gwynedd, Whitpain, Montgomery, Hatfield, Towamencin and Worcester townships, though there is also much relating to parts of Skippack, East and West Norriton, Plymouth, Whitmarsh, Springfield, Upper and Lower Moreland and Cheltenham townships.

Those who know something of newspaper work will





wonder, How did he exist? Weekly newspapers have never been famous as producers of revenue, and it is difficult to see how the papers for which Mr. Mathews worked could pay him any kind of compensation commensurate with the labor involved in obtaining the information which he wove into his articles.

As a matter of fact, his diaries reveal that his remuneration in a financial way was pitifully small. For the year 1912 his total earnings were \$276.62. Evidently he was a capable financial manager, for his expenses were not permitted to exceed his income. They amounted to \$193.84.

But before proceeding to indulge in lamentations because a man of such evident talents should have been deprived of so many of the joys of life that are represented by dollars and cents, it would be well to remember that his wants were few, and his tastes simple. The entry, "Had a good time" appears not infrequently in the diaries.

For one thing, those were the days when newspaper workers could get passes on railroad and trolley lines. His good friend, the late A. K. Thomas, occasionally obtained railroad passes that enabled Mr. Mathews to go on long trips—to Florida, to New England, to Colorado and elsewhere. Nearly every summer he spent a week at Ocean Grove.

And of course he made use of that other prerogative of the newspaper man—a free pass to all entertainments. His diary indicates his predilection for the better type of lecturers of his time. For many years he was a regular attendant at the Teachers' Institutes in Norristown and Doylestown, reporting the proceedings for the North Wales Record. Here, especially at the evening lectures, he was in his element. There is a note that at the Norristown Institute of 1880 he heard a lecture by Phoebe Cousins, the first American woman to become a lawyer. Schuyler Colfax's lecture on "Abraham Lincoln" he heard the following week at the Doylestown Institute.



Other lecturers of that period to whom he listened were Henry Watterson, on Lincoln; Will Carlton, John B. Gough, Senator John J. Ingalls, Murat Halstead, Dr. Russell H. Conwell, Robert J. Burdette, Edward Eggleston and Eli Perkins. He heard Mary French Field read the poems of her celebrated father, Eugene Field. Of course he did not miss the concerts of the Strohl family. What memories of days beyond recall those names conjure up—days before the movies robbed humanity of the faculty of finding enjoyment in uncanned speech.

Edward Mathews' recreations were not exclusively intellectual. He frequently went to baseball games, and sometimes to a football game, and when a tight-rope performer came to North Wales, in 1883, Mr. Mathews witnessed the performance on two successive nights. The fact that every day's notation in his diary mentions where he had dinner suggests, too, that he did not despise the pleasures of the table. Usually he dined at restaurants. But he had numerous friends at whose homes he was welcomed for a meal whenever he was in the neighborhood. One such home was that of Jones Detwiler, in Whitpain, and we may be sure that when Edward Mathews and Jones Detwiler sat down together at table there was a feast of historical lore. At Worcester Mr. Mathews generally dined with Dr. Meschter. Not infrequently he was a guest at the home of Oliver G. Morris, at Line Lexington. Periodical visits were also made to relatives in Bucks County.

He was far from being what is popular termed a "good mixer." He wasted no time with persons whose taste was radically different from his own. All through his life, though, he was fond of small girls—and cats. In some of his scrapbooks he collected pictures and stories about cats.

New opportunities were opened for his indulgence in the joys of the open road when the bicycle came into general use in the nineties. October 26, 1894, the diary reads:





"Bicycle came from Doylestown. Sent \$15 in payment for same and 60 cents expressage. Cloudy and cool. Made an unsuccessful attempt to ride the wheel."

Most first attempts of that kind were unsuccessful, if not worse. He practiced every day, and by December 19 he was able to ride as far as Fort Washington. Thereafter he employed the bicycle regularly for making his rounds. Then followed the usual experience of punctures, blow-outs, and break-downs which many another cyler of the nineties will recall, especially if he bought a \$15 bicycle.

Notwithstanding such distressful happenings Mr. Mathews found the wheel a great convenience. His usual mode of visiting Philadelphia was to ride a-wheel to Plymouth Meeting or to Erdenheim and thence continue his journey by trolley car. With the aid of his bicycle, in September, 1896, he visited Paoli and the Brandywine region. That same fall he rode to Schwenksville to attend the outing of the Historical Society of Montgomery County. The following year he traveled a-wheel to the outing of the Society at Fort Washington.

Five small books by Mr. Mathews were published. The editions were limited, and the volumes are now scarce. They are: "The Thomas Family, of Hilltown, Bucks County, Penna.," published 1884 by Arthur K. Thomas, Lansdale, Pa.; "The History of the Montgomery Baptist Church," published 1895, by A. K. Thomas, in Ambler; "The History of Towamencin," published by the A. E. Dambly Estate, Skippack, in 1897; "The History of Hatfield Township," published at Harleysville, and a Rosenberger Family History, also published at Harleysville.

Self-effacing as he was, Mr. Mathews could not bring himself to take part in public meetings, even when they concerned local history. Sometimes he was induced to prepare papers for meetings of the Historical Society of Montgomery County. But someone else had





to read them. He was elected to honorary membership in the Society in 1910.

Until 1896 he lived in North Wales. Then he moved to Lansdale, where he had his home until the end of his life. About this time the even tenor of his ways was disturbed by financial misfortunes. In 1883 he had been tempted to buy a five-acre orange grove in Florida. He paid for the propagation of trees and obtained some income from their product until 1895, when a heavy frost in Florida damaged the trees so they no longer bore. He had also invested in seven and eight-per cent. Western mortgages, some of which proved unprofitable.

It will be natural to inquire about the religion of a man possessed of so many instincts that are fine. His diary reveals that a Sunday rarely passed that he did not attend church services at least once, and usually he went twice. His interest in children is exemplified by his frequent visits to Sunday school festivals. But he never became a member of any church. He attended all the Protestant churches of North Wales and Lansdale, and frequently he was at the Sunday worship in the church of his ancestors at New Britain.

The last entry in his diary was made on December 23, 1915. He was suffering from grip. Nevertheless he went to a Lansdale restaurant for dinner. Then he boarded a train and went to New Britain, to the home of a niece, Mrs. Abraham Garges. There he died nine days later, on New Year's Day, 1916, aged 79 years. He was buried in the nearby grounds of the New Britain Baptist Church, where four preceding generations of his family sleep.



## A LETTER FROM MR. MATHEWS

In response to the notification of his election as an honorary member of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Mr. Mathews wrote the following letter:

Lansdale, Montgomery Co., May 4, 1910.

Mrs. A. Conrad Jones,

Corresponding Secretary of Historical Society.

I am in receipt of your letter announcing my election as an honorary member of the Montgomery County Historical Society, and for which I am under obligations both to yourself and the Society. I had not thought of receiving the honor, nor had any expectations of the kind.

A few reminiscences of the past may be of passing interest to yourself as one who is interested in historical matters. I early learned the avocation of compositor in the office of the Doylestown Intelligencer, when conducted by John S. Brown and later by Enos Priser and Henry Darlington. Having a natural taste for historical research, and a good memory for dates and figures, I first began to furnish the Doylestown Democrat with sketches, before 1880. Removing to North Wales in 1878, I soon began to write similar sketches for the North Wales Record, then conducted by Wilmer H. Johnson, who encouraged me by remuneration for the same. For that paper I wrote up about all the homesteads in the two Gwynedd, Whitpain, and many in Montgomery and other townships. Later I wrote similar sketches, covering Hatfield, Towamencin and Worcester, for the Harleysville News and the Skippack Transcript. Those of Hatfield and Towamencin were published in book form. Since 1890 I have continuously been writing sketches for the Ambler Gazette, concerning all the adjacent region, and even so far away as Abington, Cheltenham, Moreland and Norriton.

Meanwhile I have been constantly furnishing articles for the Bucks County Intelligencer concerning the region from five to ten miles of Doylestown. A history of Montgomery Baptist Church was published in book form in 1894. Also a history of the Rosenberger family.

I have endeavored to preserve my writings that are not in book form, and so have eight large scrap books of printed historical sketches. These will be of value to somebody when I am gone.

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

EDWARD MATHEWS.





## A PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN WOMAN

By J. O. K. ROBERTS

The township of Amity, Berks county, Pennsylvania, was settled by Swedes in 1701 and erected into a township in 1719. The name "Amity" resulted from the amicable relations existing between the white people and the Indians. The oldest house in Berks county is in that township, bearing the date 1716, which was built by a Swede, Mounce Jones.

It was from this township that in the early period of the 18th century, Daniel Boone went forth as a pioneer to the State of Kentucky. From the same township went a few years later to the same territory, Mordecai Lincoln, the progenitor of the immortal Abraham Lincoln; and, from that township also went the forebears of Nancy Hancks, the mother of that martyred President.

Three miles northwest from the aforesaid venerable relic of early Pennsylvania days, the Mounce Jones house rises several hundred feet above the Schuylkill Valley, on Monocacy Hill. About half way up this bold up-shoot of nature, there is a residence and a few acres under cultivation; and there lives the subject of this story—Widow Sallie Shirey.

On the 16th of September, 1905, Mrs. Shirey was 93 years old; a widow 44 years; and her relatives and friends, the writer among the latter, to the number of more than 100, assembled to honor this remarkable old lady.

Mrs. Shirey was born of Pennsylvania German parents, about a mile from her present home, and in all her life never lived more than two miles from her birth place. She bore to her husband 12 children, 8 of whom are alive. Her oldest child, a daughter, was of the party, and she 72 years of age. Five generations joined in the celebration, and not one entered into



the enjoyments of the day with keener zest than the Widow Shirey.

Invited by the writer of this article to do so, Mrs. Shirey sang in English, with spirit and remarkable power; the following "Reaping Song," which was in use in the harvest fields of Berks county in the days of her youth, when reaping was done by the sickle:

Drink round, drink round,  
My hearty brave boys,  
Drink jolly, drink free:  
That we may see another day  
My hearty boys now drink  
As a reaping we will go.

Both of Mrs. Shirey's grandfathers served under Washington in the Revolutionary war, her father was a soldier in the war of 1812, and four of her sons fought for the saving of their country's honor in the late Rebellion.

This grand old lady has smoked her pipe the past seventy years, and finds her appetite for the weed has been in no wise detrimental to her health, but, on the contrary, a solace and positive enjoyment. And, when questioned as to the propriety of smoking, she quotes a great man who once said:

"He who never smoked, has either not known great sorrow, or joy akin to that of heaven."

Living many years before the advent of canal and railway, in the beautiful valley of her abode, and more than once in her childhood—for shad a fishing went to the river Schuylkill. She has survived to see the birth and growth of both these systems of transportation, to the displacement of turnpikes and teams, and the strangling of the canal by the railroad octopus.

Born a farmer's daughter, continuing as a farmer's wife, she did everything upon a farm during the earlier years of her life that men did. And, now, at the age of 93 years she makes weekly the butter from two cows with her own hands.

Living within ten miles of the city of Reading, where



this month the Pennsylvania State Convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution met in annual business capacity, so far as newspaper report went no mention was made nor notice taken, remarkable it is to say,—of the aged heroine of Monocacy Hill: Widow Sallie Shirey.

How true it is, that many notables of this life are not discovered until dead and buried.





## THE ATTACK ON ANDREW KNOX

By MAJOR WM. H. BEAN

The following notes were given Col. Theodore W. Bean in 1886 by Jeremiah Weber, an old resident of Norristown who died in 1898, at the age of eighty-six years.

"A correct and true account of the attempt made to capture Esquire Andrew Knox as given me by Isaac McGlathery himself in 1835 when I worked on his farm."

Andrew Knox lived on his farm in Whitpain township on the highway leading from the State road to Geisenhimer's Mill on the township line road between Norriton and Whitpain townships. The names of the men who made the attempt to make the capture were as follows: Enoch Supplee, Robert Jones, John Stuthers, Abisha Wright and William Thurlow. Thurlow was wounded. It took place in January, 1778. They said after their capture, that they had a meeting under a tree near the mill. There was a slight snow-fall while they were in consultation. Stuthers was wounded and was tracked in the snow from Knox's to Thomas Livezey's in Plymouth township, where he was found under a hogshead in the cellar. This led to the capture of the others by Stuthers giving their names for which he was left go free. He had been met by the others and they compelled him to go along with them. Supplee and Jones escaped to the British lines below Barren Hill. Wright and Thurlow were captured by Isaac McGlathery, Henry Houpt, Abraham Weiers and Peter Sterigere.

When Thurlow found that they were going to take him and Wright up to Knox's, he became stubborn and would not go. The road that runs up to the Knox farm is opposite the school house called Ellis School. In the field in front of the house stood a large walnut



tree. They hanged Thurlow on a limb of this tree. When Wright saw this, he went along to Knox's, and Esquire Knox sent them with him to the Provost Marshal. The officers made short work of him. They hanged him to the limb of a large white oak tree that stood near the Square (probably Penn) until a few years ago. Stuthers said the British promised each of them ten guineas for the capture of Knox and the same for Captain Curry,<sup>1</sup> who lived in Norriton township near what is now Jeffersonville.

The Knox house was built of stone and stood about eighty yards from the road and nearly opposite the lane leading to McGlathery's house. The houses were about two hundred and fifty yards apart. A black girl from Knox's ran to McGlathery's for aid. Her screams alarmed the attacking party but before leaving they fired five or six shots into the door.

"Headquarters, Valley Forge, 17th Feb., 1778.

My Dear Father:

\* \* \* \* \*

I must not omit informing you of a gallant defence made by a justice of the peace in Philadelphia county (on the other side of the Schuylkill), known by the appellation of Squire Knox. This gentleman's house was surrounded early in the morning some days ago by a party of traitors, lately distinguished by the title of royal refugees; he was in bed in a lower room, and upon their demanding admittance, was going to open to them, when his son, who was above, and perceiving from the window fixed bayonets, call'd to him to keep his door shut and warned him of danger. The villains in the mean time pressed against the door; the old man armed himself with his cutlass, and his son descended with a gun. The door was at length forced half open by one of the most enterprising; the father kept it in that position with his left hand and employed his right in defending the passage. After some vigorous strokes, his cutlass broke; the bad condition of the son's fusil had prevented his firing till this moment. He was now prepared to salute the assailants, but the old man thinking all was lost by the failure of his weapon, called to him not to fire; upon farther examination, however, he says he found that by being shortened, it was only better adapted to close quarters, and renewed the fight.

The villains fired seven shots through the door, one of which grazed the squire's knee, which was all the damage done. They then threw down their arms and took to their

Footnote 1. Robert Curry, probably.

Footnote. Mrs. Ellen Knox Fornance, widow of the late Joseph Fornance, Esq., a former president of this Society—is a lineal descendant of Capt. Andrew Knox, the Revolutionary patriot,—who was the son of





heels; they were pursued by the Knoxes and a party of militia, and one of them who was concealed in a cellar was taken.

The besetting Mr. Knox's house is a matter of civil cognizance, but it appears that the prisoner has held correspondence with the enemy, and supplied them with provisions, and he will probably suffer death for those offences by sentence of court-martial.

\* \* \* \*

Your most affectionate

JOHN LAURENS."<sup>1</sup>

Daniel Knox, the Scotch-Irish emigrant. His descendants still own "Selma" and has been in their possession for more than a hundred years. Ed.

Footnote 1. John Laurens was an aide de camp to General Washington and was the son of Henry Laurens, of North Carolina, President of Congress, sitting at York, Penna., at that date. Ed.





ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH; 1843-4.



# THE STORY OF THE JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

with

## SOME PERSONAL REMEMBRANCES

By DR. W. H. REED

The old Norrington Presbyterian Church is situated in the northern section of Norriton township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, bordering the Germantown turnpike, and is the oldest Presbyterian congregation in this section of the country. It is the pioneer church of this locality, and all other Presbyterian congregations hereabouts are virtually its offspring.

It is said by some writers that this congregation was organized as early as 1680, or at least burials took place in its burying ground at this early period.

It is questionable with me if this congregation is so old. The early records of the congregation are lost, and all statements made to this effect by historians is simply presumptuous.

I do not believe at so early period as 1680, that there were settlers and squatters of land hereabouts in sufficient numbers to organize such a congregation; even if there were, their residence would have been of such a temporary and of such a distributed nature, that I cannot see how they then could keep together as such an organization.

History gives us that it was not until October 2nd, 1704, that William Penn, the Quaker and early Proprietor of Pennsylvania, deeded to his son, William Penn, Jr., a tract of land known as the manor of "Williamstadt." This territory now consists of Norristown, East and West Norriton townships. Williamstadt was in the possession of William Penn, Jr., for a period of a few days only, when, on October 7th, 1704—but five days afterward—this youthful man deeds





the entire tract of land to Isaac Norris and William Trent. As early as 1712 Isaac Norris became the sole proprietor by buying William Trent's interest. The manor now took the new owner's name, that of Norris' township or the Township of Norrington or Norriton. At this date all hereabouts was primitive land.

Isaac Norris, as sole proprietor—was an active business man, and a merchant in the city of Philadelphia. He as soon as he gained possession of these lands had them surveyed, laid out into parts or parcels, and disposed of them to the numerous incoming settlers who were at this time in great number immigrating to this country. Among these newcomers were many Scotch-Irish and Welsh, who in religion were mainly Presbyterians. Many of this faith not only located in this section of Norris' township but settled as well lands in the contiguous sections of the adjacent townships.

Isaac Norris gave to these purchasers of land deeds thereby making their ownership secure; they immediately settled here and improved these properties with buildings essential to their needs or wants. It is my belief with this security of title and permanency of home, that it was these new-comers—Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who organized and founded the old "Norrington" Presbyterian Church.

If it be true that burials were made here as early as 1680, or still earlier as some writers would have us believe, then such deceased settlers or inhabitants must have been squatters upon Penn's land, and thus at this early period this old burial ground was established. These burials in the beginning must have been few; subsequently it may have been these then that led to the locating and the erection of the first church building here.

We learn, too, by the inscriptions on the older tombstones found here, that many of these burials in this old cemetery were of the families that purchased lands of the Norrises'.

The first recorded pastor officiating at the old Norrington Presbyterian Church was the Rev. Malacha



Jones, in 1714. In that year the Abington Presbyterian Church was organized by this minister of the Gospel, and it and the Norrington became one charge. Rev. Jones served this congregation for a period of thirteen years. Following him was the Rev. David Evans, in 1727, for a period of four years; then Rev. Richard Trent, in 1731, for a period of ten years. These facts are the first evidence of this old church's actual existence.

This brings the real old Norriton Presbyterian Church to the period of 1740—to the time of creation of what became known as the "Norrington and Providence Presbyterian Church," which is better known now as the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church, located on the Methachon Hills, a short distance below the village of Eagleville, and bordering the Ridge pike. I now quote from a historical sketch, entered in the first Sessional Church Book of the (now) Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church, and at the time of its recording known then as the "Norriton and Providence Presbyterian Church." This foreword was written by its then pastor, the Rev. Charles F. Diver; this was in 1843, and entitled:—

"A Brief History of the Norrington and Providence Church,"

and reads as follows:—

"The church of Norriton was the first Presbyterian Church of this region and contained all the families around said order. About the year 1740, a portion of its members, then called new lights,<sup>1</sup> went off and founded the "Providence" Church. They worshipped for a while in a small log house and afterwards erected a good stone building on what is called Providence sometimes Prospect Hill."

We learn from this record of Rev. Charles F. Diver what is now called Lower Providence Presbyterian

1. Just what the "new lights" at that time at this day is not definitely known; anyhow this action of the church body was of such a character that it caused a division in the congregation. From this divided opinion two factions sprang up here, the one withdrawing to "Prospect Hill" and formed the new congregation of "Providence and Norriton." This congregation in its new field prospered and eventually grew to great proportions. The remaining congregation at old Norriton diminished by degrees until it is now virtually out of existence except so far as its name. Still the old edifice stands and the burial ground remains as a memento of this reverential spot. Even in after time and the reuniting of the divided factions, "Old Norriton" for some unexplained reason never could regain its former prestige. W. H. R.





Church was but an offshoot of the first or old Norriton Presbyterian Church of this locality. This parent and child each independently continued their own way until about 1750, when they harmonized, and formed one charge and was served by one pastor. Today all regular church service is suspended in the old Norriton Presbyterian Church and its building and burial grounds are under the wings of the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church. Whenever or whatever religious service is now held here it is under the guidance and direction of the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church.

### *First Presbyterian Church of Norristown*

By Act of Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, Norristown or the "Town of Norris" was virtually created upon the formation of Montgomery County, in 1784. By this Act this place was made the county seat. As a sequence to the location of the public buildings here this village soon grew into a town, of such a size and importance, that in 1812, the place was incorporated into a borough. As a result of this growth quite a number of Presbyterians in faith became resident within its borders. Their nearest place of worship then was at Providence, four miles distant and very inconvenient. These Presbyterians then gradually formed themselves into a local organization or congregation, at first meeting for worship at the homes of its different members, and at times in the old Norristown Academy then in charge of Rev. Mr. Jones, a Presbyterian minister. As an outcome a substantial meeting house followed. I quote further from Rev. Charles F. Diver's entries in the sessional record:—

"A goodly number of the New Light Providence Church people residing in and near Norristown thought proper to form a new church in said place which thing was done by the Rev. James Wilson, D. D., on the 4th of September, 1819. Rev. Joseph Barr being their pastor.

"In the year of 1834 the people of Norristown did fully separate from the mother church of Providence, each after that chosing their own pastors."

By this it appears that up until this time apparently



the "Providence" and "Norriton" Presbyterian churches were served by one pastor and of one charge.

### *The Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church*

I quote further from Rev. Charles F. Diver's entries in the old sessional record of the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church:—

"After a long series of distractions and dissensions in the church of Providence separated, one part known as the old school and the other part the new school, and in the fall of 1843, each worshipped separately; the old school retaining the church buildings and the property incident thereto.

"The old school holding their connection with the 2nd Presbytery of Philadelphia. The new school holding with the 3d Presbytery of Philadelphia.

"The Sessional record of this church was retained by the portion of church who withdrew from the 3d Presbytery and joined the 2nd Presbytery of Philadelphia in the year of 1843."

The holding of the sessional records by the withdrawing party of the newly created Presbyterian congregation of Jeffersonville, held to the name of "Norriton and Providence" church. They evidently continued their early or first records in these (Lower Providence Presbyterian Church) books as the rightful representatives of this congregation.

Here we must not lose sight that of retaining the old name of "Norriton and Providence" Presbyterian Church by the new or withdrawing faction and afterwards known as the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church. Thus the name of Norriton and Providence was used unreservedly in its minutes by the new church until the procuring of its charter, in 1848. At this period of its history, the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church book is minus of a number of its pages which were torn from the book and destroyed. Possibly this was done to rid the book, when restored to its rightful owners, of the undesirable entries that were recorded in it by the withdrawing faction or the new Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church, for in these then the parent church had no further interest.

Now follows this entry in the first sessional book of the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church, and is subscribed to by elders Joseph Teany and Jas. S. Smith,



of "Norriton and Providence" church, and reads:—

"After the division of this church it is supplied by the services of Charles F. Diver, a licentiate of the 3d Presbytery of Philadelphia, who preached his first sermon to us on October, 1843."

By this entry we perceive that Rev. Charles F. Diver was officially called to serve the new congregation. They having at the time no church wherein they could hold religious services and meetings, for the doors of the Lower Providence church were closed against them. As the new congregation's church building was not completed until October 10th, 1844, making it a year after he being officially called and commenced serving the congregation, the sermons in all probability were preached in the nearby Longacre's school house.

I am told the official bodies of the withdrawing faction were so sorely pressed for meeting places, that general meetings and conferences were held at times in fields, and fences were used for seats; and at such other times when of greater importance—at homes, and Longacre's school house—whichever best suiting their convenience.

Longacre's school house that was used for church purposes was located on what is now known as Park Avenue, about three hundred yards west of the Ridge road, on a triangular tract of land that at one time belonged to a neighborhood family of this name. It was nearby the now Trooper postoffice, and distant about a half mile south of the Lower Providence Presbyterian church.

The school house was a low one-story rectangular building, built of stone, plastered yellow, with numerous windows, and topped with a rather tall and steep wooden shingle roof. This little low building so long a land mark of the neighborhood, is well remembered by the older people, many of whom of the community were pupils here; it was demolished possibly several decades ago.

Interestingly and fortunately for the Jeffersonville Presbyterian church a record of its work was made in





its early sessional and congregational books, and these are preserved. The congregational book opens with this title:—

The  
Property of the  
Constitutional  
Presbyterian Church  
Norriton Township,  
Montgomery County,  
Penna.,  
February 19th, 1844.

Herein is recorded the minute of the first organized congregational meeting, held on December 14, 1843. I note on the title page the book opened February 19th, 1844—three months later. In the following or second minute of its proceedings a book was ordered to be purchased in which to keep a record of the business of its meetings. After the purchase of the book the first minute of proceedings in its order were recorded therein by the secretary. I copy the first minute in full for it is very interesting. The given names in parenthesis are filled in by me for many of whom I still remember. It reads:—

“December 14, 1844.

“Agreeable to previous notice given at a meeting of the members of the church of Norriton and Providence at the house of brother (Christian) Weber, when elder (Joseph) Teany was called to the chair, and brother (Henry) Loucks was appointed secretary. Members present as follows:—

“(Joseph) Teany, (Henry) Loucks, (Henry) Countiss, (Christian) Weber, (Thomas) Dorworth, (Daniel) Croll, (Henry) Highly, (David) Funk, (John) Teany, (James) Smith, (Noble) Kelly, and C. Norris Schrack, a friend.

“On Motion:—It was resolved that Mers. Countiss, Highly and Weber, be a committee on behalf of the church to confer with the Rev. Charles F. Diver, and endeavor to get him to become pastor, and that we promise to pay him for his support the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars a year, commencing on the first day of April next, 1844, together with what sum we can get from the Home Missionary Society.

“The following named persons have pledged themselves to pay ten dollars each in addition to their weekly contributions to make up the above sum, as viz:

“Joseph Teany, Christian Weber, Henry Highly, Henry Countiss, Henry Loucks, James Smith and Charles Norris Schrack, a total of \$70.



"And the following named persons have pledged themselves to pay the sum of five dollars each in addition to their weekly contributions to make up the above salary:—

"Thomas Dorworth, David W. Funk, Noble Kelly, Daniel Croll and David Schrack, making a total of \$25.

"Five sisters being present pledged themselves to raise five dollars each, which in all make the above two hundred and fifty dollars including the weekly contributions.

"On Motion:—C. Norris Schrack, Jos. Teany, Jas. Smith, Christian Weber and H. Loucks was appointed a building committee to purchase ground on which to erect a house of worship.

"On Motion:—H. Loucks, H. Countiss, Noble Kelly and Joseph Teany, were elected a committee on property to maintain our rights and guard our interests in the House of Worship and burying grounds of Norriton and Providence, and if necessary to institute a suit against certain individuals who claim to have possession of the property."

"Signed,

H. LOUCKS, Secretary.

"The above was copied (into the new book) by H. Countiss."

The next meeting of the congregation is recorded as taking place at

"Pleasant Retreat, Montgomery County,

"Feb. 19, 1844

"Resolved:—That a committee of seven be elected a building committee. Mers. Countiss, Loucks, Teany, Highly, Coulston, Smith and Weber were elected.

"The meeting was spent in a free interchange of thought respecting the new house of worship. It was agreed that it be 35 by 55 feet, with a basement, etc., etc.

"Adjourned to meet next Saturday after prayer meeting.

"CHARLES F. DIVER, Secty."

The next congregational meeting held is dated:—

"Lower Providence, March 4, 1844

"The meeting convened according to adjourned notice at brother John Teany's, etc. \* \*

The business of importance transacted at this meeting was:—

"Resolved:—That the size and dimensions of the house as passed at a previous meeting be recommended, when it was agreed that the size of the house be 36 by 54 feet and 27 feet high, and proposals be received for putting it up. \* \* The general style and finish to be after the plan of the African church in the city, (Philadelphia), subject to certain exceptions."

"H. COUNTISS, Secretary."





The next meeting held by the congregation was also at the home of brother John Teany. At this time and place plans and details as to awarding contracts were determined upon, and mechanics named to do the work.

The meeting of the congregation that followed was held on the evening of March 18, 1844, at (Longacre's) school house. At this meeting further plans for the erection of the new church edifice were formulated. The following resolution was unanimously passed:—

“Resolved:—That Henry Loucks, Esq., and James Smith be a committee to get a deed drawn for the lot (of ground) purchased from Peter Richards in their own names, to be made transferrable to such trustees as shall hereafter be elected by the congregation.”

“Resolved to adjourn sine die,

“H. COUNTISS, Secretary.”

No congregational meeting minute now appears on the book until June 9, 1846—a period of two years.

We now go back to the sessional record. It continues:—

“The ceremony of the laying the corner stone of a new church near Jeffersonville took place on Monday, April 29, 1844. There were present the Rev. Messrs. Adair, Brainerd, Grant, Brown, Gould, Rood and Diver, of the 3d Presbytery of Philadelphia; the Rev. Daniel Trites, of the Baptist church, and Rev. Messrs. Bishop and Galloway, of the Methodist denominations. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Trites. Reading of the scriptures by Rev. Mr. Rood. Address by Rev. Samuel Gould on the origin, history and progress of Presbyterianism in this section of the country.

“Rev. Thomas Brainerd delivered a very eloquent address on the importance of public worship which was responded to by the audience in contributions toward defraying the expenses of the building. The Rev. John L. Grant deposited the corner stone in its place, receiving the articles for deposit from Rev. Charles F. Diver, after which Rev. Grant made some very appropriate remarks accompanied with prayer.

“Rev. Robert Adair then made a short but impressive address, and was followed by Rev. Chas. Brown, who offered the concluding prayer.

“The Rev. Chas. F. Diver, pastor-elect, briefly expressed gratification with what had transpired and asked the prayers and co-operation of the audience.

“The services then were closed by singing the Doxology and Apostolic Benediction.

“During these interesting exercises a number of pieces were sung by the choir from the Trappe to whom we were much indebted for their aid on this occasion.”



Six months after the corner-stone laying the building was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. I copy further from the sessional record:—

"The church building completed was dedicated to the service of Almighty God on the 10th of October, 1844. There were present on this occasion Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., of Philadelphia, Rev. Dan'l E. Emerson, of Chester county, with Rev. Mr. Diver, pastor-elect.

"The services on this occasion were conducted by Rev. Mr. Emerson, who led in prayer. Sermon by Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., from Luke 4th Chapter, from 16 to 22 verses inclusive.

"On the evening of this day sermon by Dr. Parker, from Acts 20 Chapt., 26th verse."

Rev. Charles F. Diver, the first pastor here at the "Norriton and Providence" (Jeffersonville) Presbyterian Church was a licentiate up until this period. And at a meeting of the congregation in the new church, held on Monday, October 21st, 1844, he unanimously was chosen as their pastor. On Tuesday, October 22nd, 1844, the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia met here, in the Norriton and Providence church (Jeffersonville), and ordained and installed him as their pastor. The elders of the church at the time were Joseph Teany and James S. Smith.

The sessional records now open with the regular order of business pertaining to the current spiritual affairs of the church. Rev. Chas. F. Diver under date of November 16th, records:—

"Session met. Present the moderator and elder Jas. S. Smith. A certificate was presented by Wm. McKahin from the Third German Reformed Church, of Philadelphia, by which it appeared that Mr. Wm. McKahin, Mrs. Mary McKahin, Miss Mary Ann McKahin, and John McKahin were dismissed in regular and good standing. By request of William McKahin, John McKahin did not desire to offer himself with the rest as a member of this church.

"The session received this certificate and agreed to receive them (with the exception above alluded to) at the next communion service."

"CHAS. F. DIVER,

"Moderator and Clerk."

On the following November 17, 1844, was a Sabbath when the ordinances of the Lord's supper were administered, and Mr. McKahin and family were received to membership. On this occasion the pastor was as-



sisted by the Rev. John L. Grant, of Philadelphia, who baptised Joseph Heston Diver, infant son of Rev. Chas. F. and Mary H. Diver. This is the first baptism recorded in the church book, and it occurring in the new church building.

On March 3, 1845, at a church meeting held at the home of the pastor two additional elders were chosen, they were Henry Loucks and Henry Countiss.

To return to the congregational record. A break of two years has taken place. At this meeting the congregation orders the rear portion of its ground to be conveyed to Marmaduke L. Burr, of Philadelphia. This was a portion of the congregation's lands it had no further use for, and brought a revenue in the church then that was very acceptable.

The next minute recorded reads:—

"At a meeting of the church of Norriton and Providence, held on Monday, September 21, 1846, (agreeable to public notice), to consider the resignation of our pastor, Rev. Chas. F. Diver." \* \*

After the usual preamble and resolution the resignation was accepted, and Wm. McKahin and Henry Loucks were appointed a committee to lay the matter before the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia at its next stated meeting.

The next meeting of the church and congregation was held on April 5, 1847. \* \* \* At this meeting a committee was appointed to secure a supply to serve the church for a period of six months. \*

\* \* Henry Loucks, William McKahin and James S. Smith were appointed to have the church incorporated as soon as convenient. At the next stated meeting of the congregation held January 7, 1848, the committee on charter reported progress, it was:—

"Resolved that the church and congregation be incorporated by the name, style and title of the "Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church and Congregation," and "On Motion: The following named persons were elected trustees and instructed to have their names inscribed in the Act of Incorporation as such: Dr. John Schrack, William McKahin, Charles Norris Schrack, Henry Highley, John Teany, David Schrack and Christian Weber."





This looks as if they constituted the first board of trustees to be chosen under its new charter. Apparently previous to this date all business affairs of the church was transacted at its congregational meetings, for we find no other records.

In 1848, the May session of Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County granted to the new congregation its charter, and under its adopted name that of "Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church."

We will digress and go back to March 18, 1822, to the parent or (now known as) the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church, to the time of securing its charter of incorporation into what it was known as the "Norriton and Lower Providence Presbyterian Church." Following in the minutes of its sessional record books their secretary adhered to the name of "Norriton and Providence Church." On taking its new name, by the adoption of its charter, in 1848, the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church removed for all time the confusion arising by the two churches using the same name.

After the adoption of its charter, the first meeting of the board of trustees of the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church, was on April 5, 1848. On this occasion David Schrack was made president, Henry Highly its treasurer and Dr. John Schrack its secretary. It seems by its record a great time was experienced by the board, at this meeting, with the various church societies and organizations in the adjusting of their affairs. The different treasurers apparently were poor and indifferent bookkeepers, and in the adjusting of their accounts all sort of experiences followed. Some of these officers were long, and some were short—in their accounts. There seems to have been a sort of a general tangleation before the matter was satisfactorily adjusted.

*Rev. Charles F. Diver*

He first served this congregation as a licentiate. Upon the completion of the new edifice by the congregation he was unanimously chosen to serve it as its

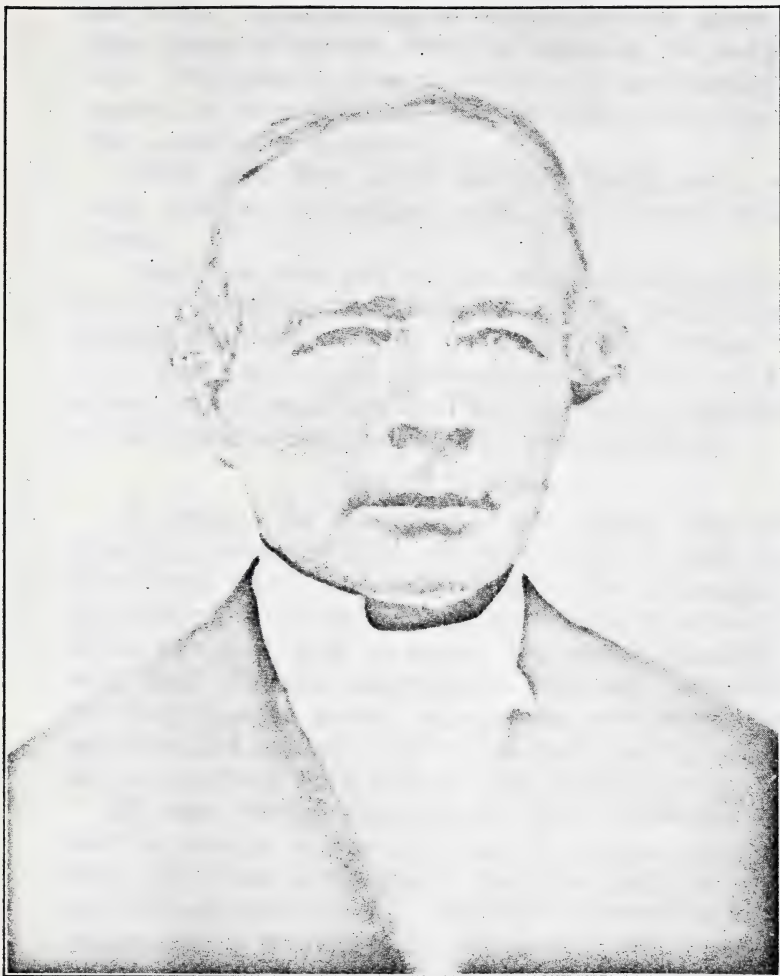




REV. CHARLES F. DIVER  
1843-1846  
Pastor of Norriton and Providence Presbyterian Church,  
Jeffersonville, Pa.







REV. N. S. ALLER  
1847-50  
Pastor of Norriton and Providence Presbyterian Church,  
Jeffersonville, Pa.



pastor. In the new church building one of its early events of importance was his installation as its pastor. We learn that his salary was small, possibly it was this and better opportunities elsewhere offered, after his three years of service, why he tendered his resignation. The congregation protested and persistently requested he reconsider, but without avail, and in the end they reluctantly accepted.<sup>1</sup>

While here Rev. Diver and his family were well liked, and he did excellent work, as the record he left attests.

Under his wise and sincere administration quite a few new members were received into the church and a number baptized by him. He used all through his work wise forethought and sagacity of action and had a very united congregation. By his forethought much of the church's early history has been preserved.

### *Rev. N. S. Aller*

He became the successor to Rev. Diver. We learn from the congregational record of April 5, 1847, that Presbytery Third was petitioned by this congregation for a supply to serve them for six months, and the Rev. Aller was sent here as such. He proved himself so well liked that the congregation regularly called him for their regular pastor, he accepted and in due time was installed as such. He too was well liked by all, and did an excellent work here as their administrator.

He came here a single man. He in time was won over to become a married man, by a most estimable lady. She was a neighbor's daughter, and her name was Miss Hannah Owen. Not being a member of the church at the time, she on October 27, 1847,—was received into the church and made a most excellent pas-

1. The Jeffersonville Presbyterian church at this time consisted of one charge. The salary of two hundred and fifty dollars was meagre or small, out of which a minister of the gospel had to support his family. A member of his family informed me if it had not been for independent means at his command he and his family would have starved or had a very meagre existence here. This may be putting it strong by this descendant, for this congregation consisted mostly of thrifty farmers with plenty of produce at their command. So long as these good people would have had any means at their command it would have been cheerfully divided with their pastor and family and the starving wolf kept from his door.



tor's wife. He was well spoken of by all in and out of the church, and as one who labored sincerely and consistently for its welfare.

Under date of November 15, 1850, the treasurer of the church was instructed by the congregation to pay Rev. N. S. Aller, one hundred and fifty dollars—the amount of salary “due him up to the first of April of the present year.” This shows the struggles of the church in its early history in the raising of means to meet its obligations. There was still a deficiency in salary; possibly it was paid later. However his resignation followed and was accepted reluctantly, thereby severing his pastoral relations not only with the congregation but with the neighborhood as well for to it he had become warmly attached. He then removed with his family elsewhere and continued in similar work; again the church was without a pastor.

### *Rev. George Foote*

At a meeting in the church of the congregation, on June 9, 1851, preambles and resolutions from East Whiteland Presbyterian church and congregation, (of Chester county, Pennsylvania), were received. \* \* \* containing a proposition to form a pastoral union with this church.

In due time this pastoral union was formulated, and at a congregational meeting, held on August 17, 1851, this action was ratified, and as a consequence Rev. George Foote was called to officiate; this church was to pay him a salary of two hundred and twenty-five dollars as their share or half for his services.

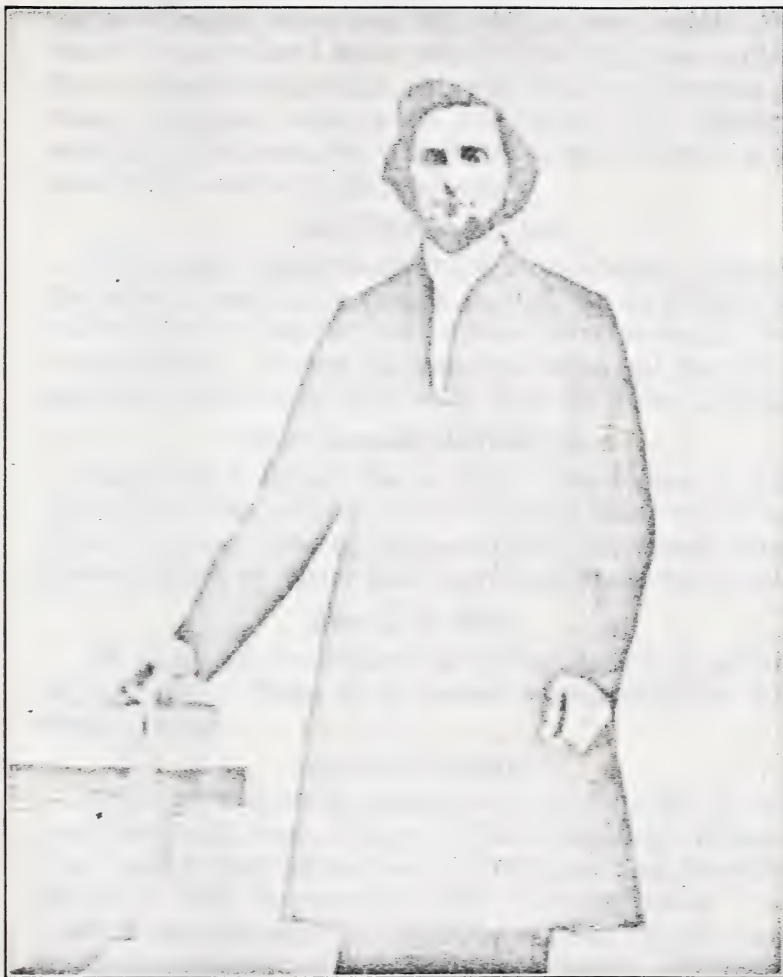
At a meeting of the board of trustees held in November, 1852, a collection among them was taken to “pay Mr. Foote's salary.”

There are no entries in the sessional book in the handwriting of Mr. Foote as pastor. All records in the book for several years to come were made by Henry Loucks, as elder.

Now for a period of four years the board of trustees and congregation failed to make any entries at all in







REV. A. J. SNYDER  
1858-66  
Pastor of the "Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church,"  
Jeffersonville, Pa.



the church book. The next entry of record was made on September 27, 1856, in this we find no record of pastor Foote's withdrawal as pastor, in 1852.

I remember Rev. Mr. Foote well in later years acting as a supply when Rev. Mr. Collins was pastor. He was a large framed man, with coarse features, rather florid complexion, rough skinned face, and having a deep, stentorian voice when preaching. His delivery was not of the best, but with it all he was a Godly, sincere, plain—and a truly good—man.

*Rev. William Fulton*

He served the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church for several years as a supply, but so far as I know, a call to him as regular pastor was never made by the congregation. During his administration all the then entries in the church book were made by elder Loucks.

*Rev. Samuel Helfenstein*

Acted as a supply for a year. The record of his work here was entered in the church book by elder Henry Loucks. During his pastorate he received some new members by letter and performed some baptisms.

*Rev. C. P. Wack*

He supplied the church for intervals for a period of one year. There is no record of his work in the church book.

*Rev. A. J. Snyder*

During his work as pastor here, as recorded in the sessional book, was:—"July 18, 1858, baptised William Harrison Weber, infant son of William and Hannah Weber." This infant child still lives and today is a mature man, member of the Presbyterian church, and an active member of the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

My earliest remembrance of this congregation was while under the pastorate of Rev. Snyder. I was then but a small boy, and at this early period of my life such affairs were to me of more than ordinary importance and firmly made their impressions.





Rev. Mr. Snyder lived with his family in Flourtown, the Presbyterian church there and this was now formed into one charge, and he preaching in the morning alternately at both churches; in the evening the same order was adopted, only the order was reversed; that is, if morning service was held at Flourtown evening service would be at Jeffersonville, and vice versa.

It appears at first he acted as a supply only at Jeffersonville. A call was not made to him from our congregation until January 29, 1859, and reads:—

“On Motion:—A call was given to Rev. Mr. Snyder to preside as pastor over said church, (Jeffersonville), which was passed by an unanimous vote. And to give him one hundred and fifty dollars for his services, together with any amount that may be received from the Home Missionary Society.”

I remember this good man well. In appearance he was very tall and slim and inclined to be somewhat stooped, and possessed a genteel, dignified and fatherly bearing. He wore the then conventional tall “stove-pipe hat,” a long frock coat, a stand up collar and tied about it was a black cravat, and his long pantaloons bagged somewhat at the knees. He bore to some extent the appearance of President Lincoln, at the time of his presidential career. He was truly a devotional looking man. When he came from Flourtown and his wife not along with him in their “ministerial looking” carriage, he would ride singly in a sulky—one of those high ones, such if the horse should stumble, it would be a question how or where he would land. The bay horse he would drive had a slow come-go-easy trot, for he jogged along truly in Quaker-meeting style, and, as if the world knew no haste nor hurry and what didn’t go today went just the same tomorrow.

The old church building as I remember it under the pastorship of Rev. Mr. Snyder is interesting. Externally we have it preserved by a photographic picture, but internally we must draw a descriptive picture from recollection.

The walls of the building were built of stone and plastered with mortar; it was two stories high, with a



basement on the first floor, and the main church room on the second floor.

You entered the church through large doors that led into the hallway; to its rear were two doorways on either side leading into the Sunday school room; on either side of the hall was a winding stairway leading to a similar hallway on the second floor. Two large green cloth covered doors, swinging on hinges, that creaked and screeched every time they were opened, led you into the main church room. These dismal sounding doors were sentinels that notified those inclined to "rubber" at the late comers, to their annoyance and embarrassment, which made doleful noise doubly loud and grinding during the quietness and solemnity of the occasion.

Cocoa matting covered the floor of the vestibules and the stairways. You entered the church room at either door, passed into a long aisle of rows of pews to your seat. In later days as the church prospered carpets were placed in the aisles, these deadened the noise of the bare floors, and added to the comfort and appearance. The arrangement of pews were single next to the walls but double in the center of the room, were plainly finished with straight backs; those who could afford it had nice little stools upon which to rest their feet.

A set of pews at right angles were in the front of the room facing the pulpit. These were regarded by those who did not occupy them as the "amen" pews, and never were occupied by any one on account of their conspicuousness, except on extra occasions.

The pulpit rose high, somewhat towering in appearance, made of plain wood, painted white and its mouldings pink, and its top trimmed with maroon colored plush, and all standing upon a high platform in the centre and to the front of the room. On each side of it rose a single column of wood, painted to harmonize with the pulpit in color. Upon these were placed an old style fluid lamp, and at evening service these were lighted that the pastor might see to read his text.





They made a dim light, but by squinting he would be able to make out to read. How well I remember this old pulpit. An experience I had at one time here made its everlasting impression. Another boy and I had gotten on the platform before the arrival of Pastor Snyder, and were playing "tags" or "peeps" around its corners to one another. Our actions greatly mortified a good sister, who slyly and stealthily moved upon me unobserved. She got me back of the neck with one hand and by my clothing further down with the other. Lifting me up in the air, then setting me down with such force that really to this day I don't remember what punishment the other boy received, for all possibility of observing suddenly had left me.

Carved and richly upholstered chairs in keeping with the pulpit trimmings stood on the platform to its rear. The central one, being the larger, was occupied by the pastor, and those to the side were reserved for visiting clergymen; this was not very often.

An iron stove that burned anthracite coal, on either side of the room, heated the building during the cold weather. Old fashioned Venetian blinds to the windows regulated the influx of light into the room. A large gallery topped the hallways to the rear of the room, and in its early history no one would occupy its seats except on special occasions, such as entertainments, etc. But as time progressed and the use of musical instruments became a part of the devotional exercises, a choir was organized, and the gallery then brought into use for this purpose; this came after Rev. Mr. Snyder's time.

The walls of the church room in its earlier history were but plainly plastered in white, but in later years these were painted in tinted colors; and later frescoed into panels, etc.

In front of the pulpit, standing on the floor of the room was a table, that was used during communion service as a receptacle for the pewter service used, specially polished and brightened for the occasion, and bountifully provided with bread and wine.





The leader of the singing at church service during Rev. Mr. Snyder's time, was brother John Teany, one of the active lights of the congregation. When the hymn was announced by the pastor, brother Teany would turn to the page and number, and start off without as much as using a tuning fork. He would throw his head back and open widely his mouth, and as the voice pealed forth, possibly by the time he would sing half through the first line of the hymn the whole congregation would join in, and in chorus the hymn would thus be sung through. To me this singing was sweet, for it came from the heart with a sanctification as if all were inspired. But what I always could not understand with these hymn books without notes was with only a "L. M." and "S. M." how elder Teany could start out with the proper tune; he did so, and very well, too.

At this time the Sunday school impressed me much. Father was a sincere churchman, and early taught us children to go. He was a teacher in the school, and he taught an advanced or "Testament" class; we smaller children were instructed by other teachers.

### *Miss Mary Weber*

As a little boy scarcely knowing my "abs" and "ibs" she took me under her care in a motherly way. She to me was dear and sweet and had a cheerful consoling way, was charming and all right. She seemed to give to me her special attention, kindness and consideration, and I in return had the same regard and consideration for her as all good Sunday school boys and girls of today should be to their kind teachers. I can see her now as she was then, a pretty, sweet-faced, cheerful and attractive young Miss, who cultured a long curl of hair that gracefully and becomingly drooped down before each ear. She is now deceased, but always remained a Miss. She was a daughter of elder Christian Weber, organizer of and first elder in the church.

After Miss Weber then followed other teachers to me as I grew up with the Sunday schools, as Samuel Miller, Samuel Scheetz, John Teany and lastly father.



When I arrived into father's class I could not advance any further, he was teacher of the New Testament class, and this was the top rung of the ladder of promotion.

The first superintendent of the Sunday school in my time was Henry Moser. I well remember him, and a fine man too. He carried his books to and from the church in a home-made oil cloth satchel of his own make. More than once I envied this nice bag for school books, and believed if I possessed such a one I could much easier learn my school lessons. He at the time resided on "Mud Lane," on the road to the rear and east of the church property; now better known as Chestnut avenue, in Norriton township.

Henry Moser was a kind hearted man, of a most excellent disposition and of a benevolent turn. He was a man of limited education but did his part well in the Sunday school room. He was of a congenial turn, one who always extended you a welcome hand, and greeted you with a warm and friendly smile for it at all times came truly from the heart.

The singing in the Sunday school at this time was led by one John Widroder. He was commonly known as "little" John Widroder, for he was very small in stature. But where he was small in height he made it up in leadership and excellent singing. He had a tuning fork, and this he would strike against one of the round columns that stood in the middle of the room, that supported the floors above. Then he started off with a "sol-me-do," and the whole school would follow in chorus. How sweet and beautiful was all of this—for all sang with a fullness as if it came right from the heart.

Soon after the departure from the neighborhood of Mr. Widroder the Sunday school purchased a melodeon, a musical instrument that at the time was coming into use on the market. If my memory serves me rightly Miss Emma Shaw was the first of the Sunday school who could play the instrument, and naturally she was selected to officiate on its keys, and a very able body





was she. This innovation revolutioned for the better the music of the Sabbath school, that made the music apparently the more inspiring. She was the daughter of James Shaw, of the "Trooper Mills," and a sister of Mr. Charles Shaw, a life member of our Historical Society.

In those days the Sunday school had annual "celebrations," commonly known now as picnics. At this period they were conducted on similar lines as of today, only differing largely in the form of amusements. For such an occasion at the time we gathered at the Sunday school room, then marched in classes or order as a parade to the nearby woods for the day's outing. There would be a time for addresses, for feasting, and for games. The latter would be mainly, "copenhagen," "happy was the miller," bingo," etc. At the end of the day we all returned to our homes delighted and happy but awfully tired.

Usually about Christmas time, as now—entertainments were in order, and all of the children in major and minor ways would be enlisted to take part. Vocal and instrumental music, dialogues, speaking of pieces, etc., would be the important features of the programme. Sometimes on such occasions—books, candies and simple refreshments would be given as reward of merit, to the children; these added interest and spice to the occasion. The affair was usually held in the main church room which was decorated and trimmed natively, with evergreens and colored paper, for the occasion, and all giving it an inspired appearance. These feasted the soul. "Church suppers" that feasted the stomach were frequently given and mainly held in the basement or Sunday school room. Through these means funds would be raised to defray current expenses in church and Sunday school work.

The original site or location of the first church building was on the Ridge road and a half mile above the village of Jeffersonville, and which in time proved a bad one. The location was all right during the pleasant season of the year, but in wet weather and



the thawing of the ground in the spring of the year, it was horrible. It mired so, at times, it was almost impassable for either teams or footmen. Probably for this reason above all others when a new building was considered, a change of location was advisable. The change to its present site was a wise one.

A grave yard was on the lot of ground to the rear of the church building in its beginning. During its existence quite a few burials here had taken place. Upon the change of location of grounds the bodies were all removed and re-interred in the new grave yard at the new church. The removals took place in 1876, and of these re-interred bodies all received the same care and consideration as if there never had been a change.

Reverend Snyder's salary was small in comparison with salaries received by ministers of the gospel of today. His family must have lived very economically and frugally. Probably the congregation may have made up for his support in other ways. I remember well on one occasion a "donation party" was gotten up for the family's benefit, and our home was made one of the assembling places of all such. As a small boy with a narrow comprehension I could not understand what just all this meant. I looked upon the heap of good things, and imagined how nice it was to be a minister of the gospel, and have all of these fine things given to them; no wonder I looked at all wishfully and eyes watered with envy?

*Rev. Charles C. Collins, D. D.*

Came as successor of Rev. Snyder. He was the last pastor serving this congregation in the old or first church. For the first five years he served as a supply only, then at a regular congregational meeting, held on November 25, 1871, he was called to serve them as their regular pastor. At first his salary was to be whatever the congregation could pay. The amount was indefinite and small. Fortunately in this respect he was a ministerial exception, for he had means at command which relieved his dependence on the congregation.





REV. CHARLES C. COLLINS  
1866-1885

Pastor of the "Jeffersonville (and later) Centennial Presbyterian  
Church" of Jeffersonville, Pa.





Shortly after his election and installation here as pastor he conducted a series of revival meetings—the greatest of its character in the history of the church—covering a period of two weeks. As a consequence many new members were added to the church roll of membership. In this work Dr. Collins was materially assisted by other speakers and evangelists.

Dr. Collins was a musician of no little ability, and under his direction the first musical organ was brought into the church. Miss Emma Shaw became the organist of the church as well as the melodeon player in the Sabbath school room, and on many occasions, when he could, Dr. Collins officiated at the instrument. As a consequence of the installation of the pipe organ, a choir was organized and the music revolutionized. The gallery in the rear of the church room was fitted to receive this musical wonder, the choir took its place by its side, and the music became not only a pleasing but an inspiring feature of the church service.

It was not a great while after this, to keep pace with the innovations of the day, the first great organ out-grew its usefulness, and a new and more modern one followed. This was a big square affair, with numerous gilded pipes on its front, and upon which was builded great expectations. Soon after its installation and it by the community to be fully appreciated, an organ recital must be given and the community invited. Tickets of admission in great numbers were sold, an important organist must be imported, and a classical entertainment be given worthy the musical wonder. Unfortunately for the organist and the congregation, the entertainment fell flat, all due solely to the employment of a pianist, whose nimble fingers were too fast for the slower organ; the murderous onslaught was simply overwhelming and ruinous, and the audience departed with a chuckle of disappointment.

After a service of but a few years the great pipe organ was put aside, and replaced by a smaller and a better toned instrument and it and the choir were now stationed thereafter in the front of the church room,



nearby the pulpit, facing the congregation. On demolishing the old church building the great pipe organ was removed to the barn of Mr. James Shaw, on Whitehall road, in the lower end of the village, and as 'twas said "for the rats to play on." After a short life here, a fire visited the barn, and I heard it said that "it went up in smoke."

Anyhow I find this record in the minute of the board of trustees, under date of February 12, 1879:—

"On motion:—It was agreed to present Mr. Collins the old pipe organ belonging to the church in Mr. Shaw's barn at present for safe keeping."

Rev. Chas. C. Collins was a learned and cultured man, and an able, impressive, and emotional speaker. In addition to his church work he took quite an interest in local history, and did much in the gathering of data, particularly of this community, its church and congregation. The church books, printed pamphlets and newspaper files show this effort and spirit. He was original in much of his work, and interspersed much of his prose with poetry. Among his productions while pastor of this church was a book of sacred songs for Sunday schools, revivals and church worship, and many of these were original both in verse and music.

It was largely through his efforts and instrumentality that the new church edifice at Jeffersonville, known as the Centennial Presbyterian church, was conjectured, devised, built and paid for. He possessed considerable executive ability, and many of the most important contributions in money and material were made through his direction and personal efforts.

Rev. Chas. C. Collins had the reputation of being (by some) "a long winded talker" in the pulpit. Invariably the members of the Lower Providence Presbyterian church would be passing his doors homeward bound before he dismissed his congregation. This prolonged preaching made restless hearers, so much so, that at a joint meeting of the elders and board of trus-







SECOND BUILDING—KNOWN AS THE "CENTENNIAL  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH," Jeffersonville, Pa.  
Erected in 1876



tees, held on August 26, 1872, unanimously passed this resolution and served on him:—

“That the session be requested to have services on the Sabbath day close as nearly as possible at 12 o'clock.”

In 1875, the congregation, at a regular meeting, determined to build a new house of worship, on a new site, with a more acceptable location within the village of Jeffersonville, and its present site and location was the outcome. The members now became busy and active, and put forward all effort. Plans were adopted, money pledged, material and work donated, and the tall, pretty, substantial and commanding building was the outcome. It stood as a wonder and sentinel at this place for twenty or more years, and its cost was approximately twenty-five thousand dollars.

On July 5, 1875, the cornerstone was laid with appropriate exercises, and on January 21, 1876—the Centennial year of the nation's independence—it was dedicated, and named in honor thereof “The Centennial Presbyterian Church,” of Jeffersonville. The chapel part of the edifice was its first part completed, and the main auditorium was not finished until the latter part of the same year.

Gothic style of architecture was adopted, walls of grey sand-stone and pointed in light mortar; dimensions 50 by 110 feet, with a tall spire of one hundred and fifty feet high, all standing upon a high elevation of ground, making it a guiding sentinel that could be seen for many miles in any direction.

During the interval of the tearing down of the old, and the erection of the new building, all church services were regularly held in Jefferson Hall, located in the village of Jeffersonville.

Rev. Chas. C. Collins now becoming aged and in ill health severed his connection with the church by tendering his resignation to the congregation, in 1886, after a continuous service in active duty here for a period of nearly twenty years. It went hard with him in his advancing and declining years to surrender to



the inevitable but fleeting time, but feeble health and other infirmities incapacitated him for a continuance in the work. He lived but a few years after this; for death respecteth no man, however great or humble he may have been.

*Rev. Wm. C. Hendrickson*

Was called from the Reformed church by this congregation to become their pastor. He was properly installed into his official work in this church, by Presbytery, on December 11, 1885. His berth here subsequently did not become a bed of roses to him. For in due time procedure in Presbytery was instituted against him of irregularity of ordination. After a struggle along in Presbytery into its many phases for several years he was finally shorn of his ability to do further pastoral work, and was dismissed by the Presbyterian church; but he would be permitted to act as a supply.

Rev. Mr. Hendrickson was well liked by his congregation. He made a united congregation and was doing here a wonderful work. He had a kind and amiable disposition, easily approached by all, and was of a social and congenial turn. He was not only loved by his people in the church but as well by the whole community. Thus he earnestly and consistently served this church for a period of four years.

It was during the pastorate of Mr. Hendrickson that a parsonage for the church was erected at a cost of nearly five thousand dollars. The entire expense of the ground and building was borne by Mrs. Mary A. Shaw, widow of the late James Shaw, of Jeffersonville, who in his time and that of the building of the new church edifice was very much interested, and contributed for its success much of his time and means. Upon completion of the parsonage Mrs. Shaw voluntarily, kindly, munificently deeded the parsonage to the congregation: to further the good work of the church and its purpose. I copy this from the board of trustees record, under date of November 15, 1887:—

“At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held at the parsonage, Mrs. James Shaw being present and donated to the





Centennial Presbyterian Church the following, viz:—A deed for the lot of ground upon which the parsonage stands, also the buildings erected under her supervision upon said lot, and a policy of insurance, (perpetual).” \* \* \*

This munificent gift to the church by Mrs. James Shaw was in due order and form kindly accepted by the officers of the church, and for this generous deed of hers gave her the right hand of fellowship, and then voted her a most unanimous warm and kind acceptance of thanks.

### *Rev. Seneca M. Keelor*

Was better known to the older members of the church. He was called to this charge unanimously by this congregation in 1901, and officiated here for a period of five years.

Rev. Mr. Keelor was well liked by his congregation. He was a very congenial man, kind in his ways, and of a mild and gentle disposition. He possessed a typical ministerial bearing and was one of our most dignified and respected citizens. He was an able man in the pulpit, had a pleasing address, and an agreeable way of holding his hearers while preaching. He was quite a horticulturist in a small way, and prided himself in the growing of superior grades of small fruits.

For reasons of his own he tendered his resignation as pastor to his congregation in 1896, which was reluctantly accepted. He then removed with his family to New York City only to continue in his ministerial work. He has since died—the heritage he left was his good work.

### *Rev. Francis W. Beidler*

Followed here as pastor in 1897, and officiated for three years. He came a young man fresh from college, with an excellent future. While here he married a sister of the congregation, and their child was the first to be born in the manse. He resigned in 1900 to assume a charge in the far west.

It was during Rev. Mr. Beidler's pastorate the Centennial Presbyterian church building was burned to the ground. The sad misfortune occurred on the night



of August 27, 1897. The fire was a terrible shock and loss to the congregation. Its cause was never learned; it broke out at midnight, and when discovered the flames had made such headway that all efforts to control it were fruitless.

The saddest part in its destruction was the heavy financial loss it incurred for it was but a short time previous that the officers of the church, as a matter of economy, had reduced its insurance from \$10,000 to \$4,000; and to rebuild it at once by the struggling congregation was a problem.

At first baffled, shocked and saddened, the congregation rose as one, and rallied, rolled up their sleeves and put their shoulder to the wheel and worked with a vengeance. And the outcome was its present most beautiful, substantial and commodious building.

In its rebuilding the old foundations and material so far as possible were used, the contour of the building was rearranged and previous defects avoided, and such other improvements were added as were in keeping with the times. The building proceeded so rapidly in its work that by the following October 30, 1897—less than two months—the cornerstone was laid with appropriate exercises. By April 17, 1898, the new edifice was dedicated for worship. It all incurred an expenditure of over \$10,000, and when the keys were turned over by the building committee to the proper officers of the congregation, it was paid for and free of debt.

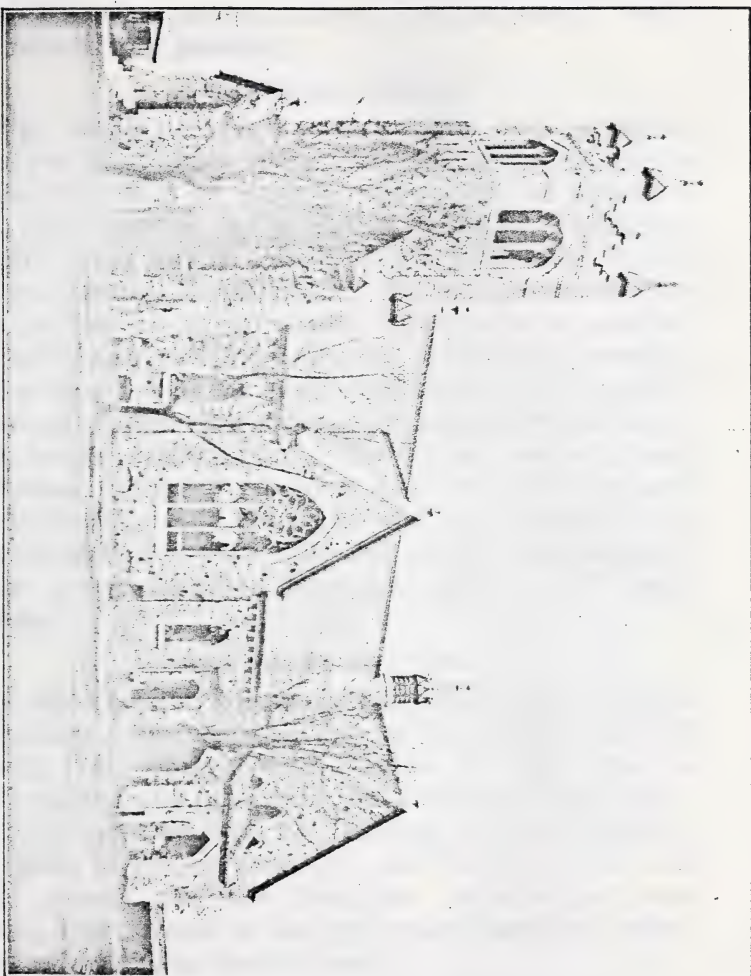
During the interim of building, the congregation met for worship and Sunday school work, in Jefferson Hall; in the same room and under the same privilege as the congregation had during the building of the Centennial Presbyterian church, in 1875.

***Rev. George H. Johnson***

Was called to officiate as pastor here in 1901, and remained for five years. He then resigned in 1906, to accept a pastorship elsewhere. While here he did a very noble work, was well liked by his congregation,







JEFFERSONVILLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Jeffersonville, Pa.



and when he tendered his resignation it was heard with a shock but accepted with sincere regrets.

As pastor he won the good graces of all. As a speaker he had a deep clear voice, and as logician was able and deliberate. The congregation prospered under his wise administrations, and all church work was smooth and pleasing.

***Rev. William Tatlock***

Was called here as pastor in 1907, and remained for a period of three years. He came from college to assume this field of pastoral labor; was an educated men, with pleasing and agreeable manners and officiated with great ability. He won the friendship of the younger element in particular, for he was next to the boys in their work and sports. He was of a progressive turn, and not only gave his ability and training to the church and its work, but was active in public affairs that were of a moral and progressive advancement to the neighborhood. Besides he was a typical sportsman, logically speaking, that was edifying and character building. He could cast an artificial fly to lure the wily fish with skill and ability that deserved praise and recognition from any follower of Izaak Walton.

***Rev. James A. Pratt***

He came here as pastor in 1911, fresh from Princeton college. He was pleasing in his address, full of activity, and worked with success. In due time he was ordained and installed. He came as a single man, was very popular with the younger set—particularly the ladies of the congregation, and he fell a victim of their charms. In due time his bachelorhood was broken, took a mate in life who was of material assistance to him in his church work.

Under his wise and congenial leadership the congregation grew, and became in size its greatest in membership in its history. The Sabbath school likewise grew and prospered. The smooth working machinery of the church was regretfully surprised one Sabbath



morning in 1914, on hearing him announce his resignation as pastor from the pulpit. He went from this community elsewhere to engage in similar work, thereby leaving behind many heavy hearts and a wide circle of friends.

### *Rev. John T. Scott*

Is the present pastor. He came here from Somerville, New Jersey, in 1915. He is very well liked by his entire congregation, is an able leader and scholar, and has working with him a united and a most harmonious congregation. He is also an active member of our Historical Society, and much interested in local history.

### *Changes in Name*

In its history this church has no less than four times changed its name. Until its organization and its charter granted in 1848, it was known as the "Norriton and Providence" church. Under its first charter in 1848, this was changed to read the "Jeffersonville Presbyterian" church and congregation. Upon the completion of its new building in 1876, a new charter was obtained incorporating a few changes in its government, and wherein it was called the "Centennial Presbyterian Church" of Jeffersonville, Pennsylvania. After its destruction by fire in 1879 and its rebuilding, Presbytery was appeal to and sanctioned the change back to its former name that of "Jeffersonville Presbyterian" church. In due time accordingly its charter was amended by legal process and the name of "Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church" was again resumed.

### *List of Pastors*

Chronological list of regular pastors and supplies with period of service at the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church:—

Rev. Charles F. Diver, 1843-1846.

Rev. N. S. Aller, 1847-1850.

Rev. George Foote, 1851-1852.

Rev. William Fulton, 1853-1855.







THE PARSONAGE  
of the Presbyterian Church at Jeffersonville, Pa.



Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, 1855-1856.  
Rev. C. P. Wack, 1857.  
Rev. A. J. Snyder, 1858-1866.  
Rev. Charles C. Collins, 1866-1885.  
Rev. William G. Hendrickson, 1886-1890.  
Rev. Seneca M. Keelor, 1891-1896.  
Rev. Francis M. Beidler, 1897-1900.  
Rev. George G. Johnson, 1901-1906.  
Rev. William Tatlock, 1907-1910.  
Rev. James A. Pratt, 1911-1914.  
Rev. John T. Scott, 1915-1920.





## THE LOTTERY AS A RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

By EDWARD W. HOCKER

Lotteries are now outlawed everywhere—except in politics and religion.

When at an election two candidates receive an equal number of votes the tie is usually decided by lot.

In religion the lottery survives most conspicuously in the method of choosing ministers among the Mennonites.

The Mennonites originally were one of the Pennsylvania German "plain sects," but now they are numerous in many other parts of America, besides Pennsylvania.

In the cities their congregations have discarded some of the quaint and unusual characteristics of their forefathers, and their chief point of distinction from other religious faiths is their adherence to the rite of feet-washing.

In the rural districts, however, where innovations are more readily resisted, the congregations cling to the literal interpretation of the Scriptures that their early leaders propounded. They insist upon extreme plainness of dress and the avoidance of elaborate architecture, luxuries in the home and anything that is ornamental rather than useful, while litigation and oaths are prohibited and members are not permitted to enter military service.

Should a vacancy occur in the ministry of one of these rural congregations which follow the old order, a Sunday is appointed when the members nominate suitable candidates for the position from among their own numbers, any member being privileged to present a name in a sealed envelope. No special training for the work is required, but it is, of course, expected that the candidates shall have led exemplary lives and shall possess some gift of public speaking.



Then a day is designated when lots are to be drawn to determine the choice. The meeting is opened with a service of hymns and prayer, and a visiting minister or bishop preaches a sermon. Certain of the visiting ministers appointed for the purpose retire to another room and prepare as many slips of paper as there are candidates. Upon one of these is written a Scriptural passage, and the others remain blank. Each slip is placed in a Bible. Then the candidates present themselves at the pulpit, whither the Bibles are brought, and each in turn selects one of the books. He who has the book with the slip bearing the Scriptural quotation is announced to be the choice for minister. Usually he is ordained at once, though sometimes a service for that purpose is held at a later date.

As he enters the ministry he does not give up his secular employment, for the ministers of the more conservative Mennonites receive no salary.

Bishops are chosen in a similar way from among the ministers.

An old belief that there is an element of divine guidance in chance, or the lot, undoubtedly is responsible for this plan of choosing ministers. These literal followers of the Bible read therein of many instances where the lot was used to determine matters that otherwise seemed inscrutable.

In the Book of Jonah they read that in the midst of the storm at sea the mariners cast lots to find who was responsible for their plight, and the lot fell upon Jonah, who thereupon was thrown overboard and experienced his adventure with the "great fish."

Proverbs 16:33 seems to give divine approval to the lot, for it reads: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." This is the passage usually written upon the slip of paper in drawing lots for ministers.

Then, too, the land of Canaan was divided among the Israelites by lot, according to divine command; and Saul was chosen king by lot; while after the death of





Judas Iscariot—Matthew succeeded to the vacant apostleship by the choice of the lot.

No doubt it was because of these Scriptural allusions to the lot that in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, when a craze for lotteries swept over Europe and America, the churches showed no hesitancy in taking advantage of the popular desire to get much for little by means of the lottery. Not only were schools, public buildings,<sup>1</sup> bridges, canals and roads built by funds raised through lotteries, but many churches were financed in the same way.

When the rector and vestry of Trinity Church, New York, in 1774, authorized a lottery to raise funds for building a church at Brookland Ferry—that being the first Episcopal church in Brooklyn—they did nothing that was considered unusual in those times.

The great British Museum had its origin in a lottery, the managers of which were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor and the speaker of the House of Commons.

Up to the early years of the nineteenth century the General Assembly, or the Legislature, of Pennsylvania, frequently passed laws permitting churches to operate lotteries. For instance, an act passed in 1768 provides for the raising of £3099. 12s by lottery for the use of the First, Second and Third Presbyterian churches of Philadelphia and the German Reformed church in the Township of Worcester. At late as 1810 a lottery authorized by law was conducted for the benefit of the Limerick church, Owen Evans being the commissioner.

It was in that era of the lottery that a form of sanctified card playing was introduced among pious people, the cards used for that purpose may now be seen in museums and historical collections.

Instead of the customary figures found upon playing cards, these religious cards bore Scriptural texts and hymns. There were 56 cards in a pack, and when a group of players assembled, someone shuffled the cards in the approved manner. The persons who received the trump, or turn-up, card read the passage





upon it. If it was a text from the Bible, it became the subject of an edifying discussion; and if it was a hymn, the assemblage joined in singing it.

These cards were especially popular among the early Methodists. Matters of business, the possible outcome of journeys and other problems not infrequently were decided by drawing a card from the pack and attempting to apply the inscription upon the card to the matter under deliberation. A writer, in 1791, told of a woman who one day drew a card reading: "My breath is corrupt, my days are extinct, the graves are ready for me." At the same time her husband drew this: "There is but one step between me and death." A third card which a sister drew was equally mournful: "And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons he gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up the ghost." Before the day was over, says the chronicler, the woman first mentioned was dead.

In another instance the outcome was more cheerful. A young preacher and several young women were diverting themselves with the cards, and when he asked one of the girls to select a card she drew one bearing the passage from the Book of Ruth: "Where thou goest I will go; and where thou lodgest I will lodge." Of course, the sequel was that the pair were married.

The strong faith once felt in the lot is strikingly shown by the fact that for a long time the adherents of a large religious denomination were willing to marry by lot. Among the Moravians, who settled Bethlehem, Nazareth and other Pennsylvania communities, the use of the lot in choosing a wife had the approval of the church until 1817. In the early years of the Moravian communities, the sexes were rigorously kept apart, and the unmarried women dwelt in the Sister House. There was little or no opportunity for courtship. If a young man felt able to assume the responsibility of maintaining a household, he would give the minister the names of several young women whom he was willing to wed. This is how the question was popped: At a conference



of the elders, after opening with prayer, two slips of paper, one bearing the word "Yes" and the other the word "No," were placed in a Bible, and the young man drew one of the slips. If it read "Yes," he was privileged to marry the young woman whose name stood first upon his list. If it read "No," another drawing took place for the second named. When the youth submitted but one name, a negative lot put an end to his matrimonial aspirations for the time being.

Sometimes a young man who had no choice and yet felt that he needed a wife left the selection entirely to the ministers. They would consult the matron in charge of the Sister House, and a list of candidates would be prepared for submission to the lot. This plan was often adopted in the case of missionaries stationed at distant points who sent to the older settlements for wives.

All proposals had to receive the sanction of the conference of elders. Young women were never compelled to accede to the decisions of the lot, though the belief in its supernatural guidance was so general that few refused their consent.

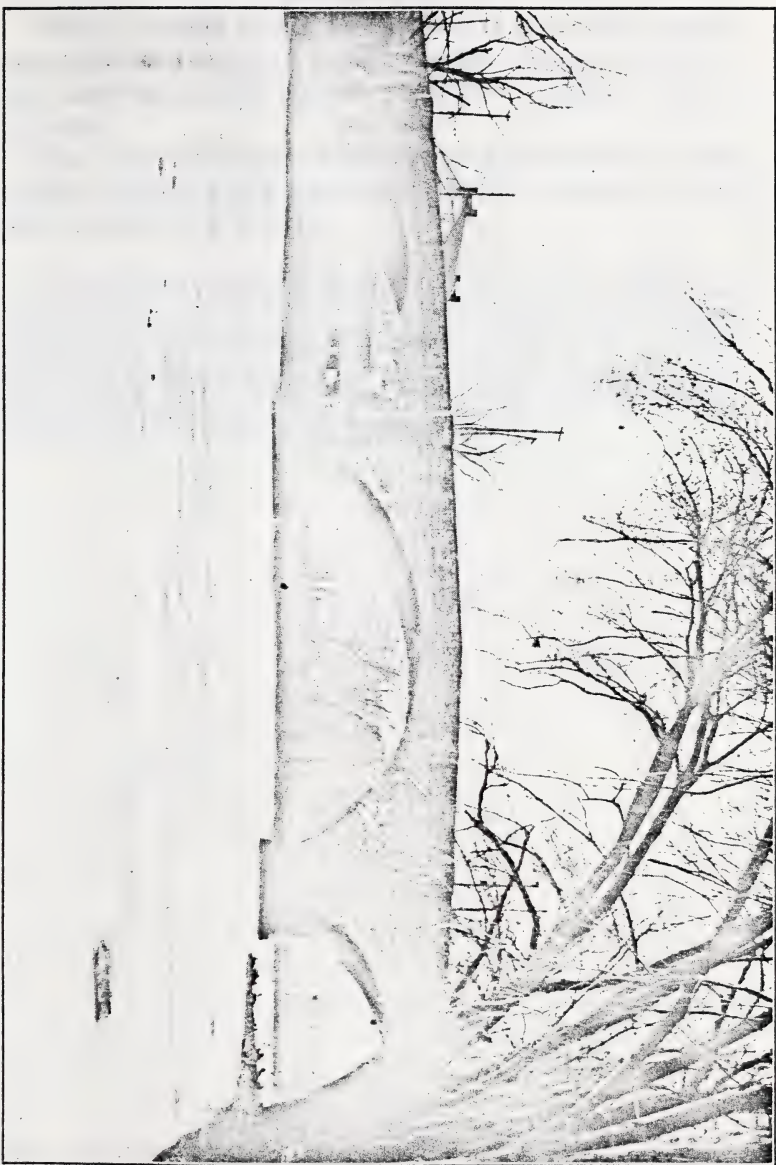
Sometimes the lot brought about queer results. In Bethlehem, it is said, a young mechanic proposed the names of two sisters, daughters of an invalid widow, but the lot was negative in both instances. Then he proposed the mother, and the lot was affirmative; whereupon they were married.

Shortly afterward a missionary whose wife had died wrote to Bethlehem asking that a wife be chosen for him. His principal stipulation was that she be "a short, dumpy sister of about five feet," as his first wife was of that type and considerable of her clothing awaited her successor. Recourse was had to the lot, and, after several failures, one of the sisters whom the young mechanic had sought in vain was chosen, and she left for the frontier to marry the thrifty missionary.

While courtship by lottery undoubtedly had its advantages, especially for bashful youths, nevertheless







PERKIOMEN BRIDGE AT COLLEGEVILLE, PA., WAS BUILT BY LOTTERY



it has passed away as a religious institution, though matrimony itself remains as much of a lottery as ever.

Those grosser forms of the lottery in which chance was employed to raise money for the church had their last survival in the church fair, now happily almost obsolete.

But not withstanding the refining influence of time and the edicts of lawmakers, all of life continues to be more or less of a lottery.

1. This Society has in its possession a miscellaneous collection of papers relating to the Lottery connected with the construction of the Perkiomen Bridge on the lands of Henry Nunemacher, in Upper Salford township, Montgomery county, one of which sets forth that "Andrew Campbell of Lower Salford, innkeeper, and Henry Moyer, of Upper Salford, yeoman, have engaged themselves to superintend the building of a bridge over the East Branch of the Perkiomen Creek, within the township of Upper Salford on the Great Road leading from Maxetawney, Macungie and other upper parts of the county, down by North Wales to Philadelphia, &c." Signed 4th October, 1790. Ed.



## THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1794

By J. P. HALE JENKINS

It is not generally known that a contest was had over the result of a Congressional election, in a district of which Montgomery County was a part.

On the 22nd day of April, 1794, the State was divided into twelve congressional districts. Montgomery County was included in the fourth district and together with the Counties of Bucks and Northampton, was entitled to elect two persons to represent the district in the National Congress.

At the first election held in the new district, the Federalists supported General Samuel Sitgreaves, of Northampton County, and Judge, the later General—James Morris, of Montgomery County. Judge Robert Loller, of Hatboro, was also supported by the Federalists, and the effort on the part of Judge Loller proved sufficient to call into question the general result of the election. The Republicans supported John Richards and General Peter Muhlenberg, both of the County of Montgomery, and strange to say, General Muhlenburg, the abler of the two and who had served in the first and third congresses, received a less number of votes than did John Richards.

This election was held October 14th, 1794, just after the Whiskey Rebellion had broken out in Western Pennsylvania. President Washington had called out the militia of the State, and the young men of the day, who were enrolled, marched to the western counties, to enforce the national but unpopular excise law. Many of the young men were above the age of twenty-one, and were entitled to vote, under the provisions of a special law passed for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of the then present case. This act was approved by Governor Thomas Mifflin, September 24th, 1794.







J. P. HALE JENKINS, ESQ.



One of the qualifications of the voters was, the payment of a tax. There were two exceptions to this general requirement. First, a voter between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two years, no tax having been assessed against him was not required to have paid a tax, and, second, those over the age of twenty-two years, being sons of electors who were owners of real estate, and who had paid a tax thereon, were entitled to vote without being required to pay a tax.

The Act of Assembly provided that the army returns should be filed with the Prothonotary, not later than November 10th, and that the return judges of the several election districts in each county should meet on the 15th of the month, to compute the returns. The soldier-vote of the County of Northampton was received in time, but the returns from the counties of Bucks and Montgomery were not received in time. That of Montgomery County was received some time between the 10th and the 15th of the month, but was not included in the computation because the return judges, when they met did not have the return before them. This return gave Mr. Richards one hundred and fifty-six votes, and General Morris fifty-eight votes. The Bucks County return was forwarded to the Governor, who received it January 18th, 1795. This return did not have the list of voters required by the act, nor the certificate of its approval by the return judges. This return gave General Morris ninety-one votes and Mr. Richards none. It appears that the Governor was undecided about the matter, and declined to issue a certificate to either of the candidates.<sup>1</sup>

General Morris was accepted by the Clerk of the House of Representatives as the Representative-elect, whereupon John Richards presented a memorial contesting the election, and in this manner, the question was brought to the attention of the House. Upon organization, this memorial was referred to the Committee on Contested Elections, consisting of Hons. Abraham Venable, of Virginia, chairman; Henry Dear-

1. Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. IV, pages 331-2.





born, of Massachusetts; George Dent, of Maryland; John Wilkes Kittera, of Pennsylvania; Thomas Blount, of North Carolina; Robert G. Harper, of South Carolina, and Zephaniah Swift, of Connecticut.

General Morris died July 10th, 1795, and in consequence the facts from the contestee's point of view were not presented. Notwithstanding this fact the first report of the committee sustained the position of General Morris, but being called into question and adversely criticised by Mr. Heister, of Pennsylvania, and after a desultory debate, the report was re-committed to the committee. This committee on January 13th, 1796, submitted a second report, this time in favor of Mr. Richards, which report on the 18th day of January, 1796, was adopted, and Mr. Richards was sworn in as a member.

This report is as follows:

"It appears to your committee that an election was held on the second Tuesday in October, 1794, in the counties of Bucks, Northampton and Montgomery, in the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of electing a member to this House; that the same day, an election was held by the militia that had marched from the before-mentioned counties, on the Western expedition, for the same purpose.

"That the law of Pennsylvania, made for that special case, directs that the county judges of elections, instead of meeting on the 3rd Tuesday of October, as formerly, should meet on the 10th day of November; that the army election returns should be sent, by the 10th day of November, to the prothonotaries of the respective counties, and that the prothonotaries should, on that day, deliver them over to the county judges, to enable them to make their returns; that the district judges should meet on the 15th day of November, to examine the county returns, to make an estimate of all the votes, and to return the person having the highest number, the Representative for the district.

"That the county judges, as the law directs, met on the 10th day of November, at which time no army returns had been received, except from the militia of Northampton; that after the 10th, and before the 15th, the returns from the County of Montgomery were received by the prothonotary of that county, and delivered over to the county judges, two of whom made up a return and certified it on the 14th, to be a true return of the votes that had come to their hands.

"That on the 15th, the judges of the district met according to law, at which time were laid before them the last mentioned return, together with the returns of the election held in the counties respectively, and the returns of the militia of Northampton; upon which the judges reported, that, by the return of the county elections, together with the return of the North-



ampton militia, James Morris had the highest number of votes, to-wit:—sixteen hundred and forty-eight.

“That by the Montgomery army return, which had been put into their hands in the manner before stated, it appeared that John Richards had one hundred and fifty-six votes, and James Morris fifty-eight; which number, together with all the votes in favor of John Richards on the other returns amounted to seventeen hundred and ninety-one, and in favor of James Morris to seventeen hundred and six, and that no returns had at that time come to hand from the Bucks county militia.

“That, after the before mentioned report was made to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to-wit:—on the 18th day of January, 1795, certain papers were lodged with the Secretary of State, purporting to be a regimental return, made by Lieut. Col. James Hanna, of the Bucks county militia, and sundry tally papers, unaccompanied by any list of the persons' names who had voted at the said election, or any certificate of its having been examined by the county judges; on which return it is stated that James Morris had ninety-one votes; whereupon the petitioner states,

“1st. That he is entitled to a seat in this house, because, upon an estimate of all the votes that appeared by the returns that were produced before the district judges on the 15th day of November, including the return of the Montgomery County militia, which was defective in form only, and not in substance, he will be found to have the highest number of votes, to-wit:—seventeen hundred and ninety-one, and James Morris seventeen hundred and six.

“2dly. That if both the army returns for the counties of Montgomery and Bucks are rejected, by deducting from the army returns of Northampton sixteen votes which were given by persons unqualified to vote, and two votes for so many given by proxy, he would still have the highest number, to-wit:—sixteen hundred and thirty-five, and James Morris, sixteen hundred and thirty.

“3rdly. By admitting both the returns of Bucks and Montgomery counties, and rejecting the number of votes given for James Morris by persons unqualified to vote, and the two given by proxy on the Northampton return, he would then also have the highest number, to-wit:—seventeen hundred and ninety-one, and James Morris seventeen hundred and seventy-nine.

“Upon which statement and the evidence produced in support thereof by the petitioner, your committee are of the opinion,

“1st. That the Montgomery return ought to have been received by the district judges, and estimated with the other returns, it having come to the hands of the county judges, and having been acted upon by them before the 15th day of November, the time prescribed for the district judges to meet.

“2dly. That the Bucks county return ought to be rejected as being substantially defective, having never been examined by the county judges, and being unaccompanied by a list of names of the persons who voted; and

“3dly. That sixteen votes were given at the election held by the Northampton militia, for James Morris, by persons who do not appear to stand on the tax lists of that county, and who are not within the description of such electors sons as are per-





mitted to vote by law without being on the tax lists; also that two votes were given by proxy.

"Your committee therefore recommend the following resolution.

"Resolved That John Richards is elected as one of the Representatives for the district composed of the counties of Bucks, Northampton and Montgomery, in the State of Pennsylvania, and that the said John Richards be permitted to take his seat in this House.

"Exemplification

James Morris, general returns and		
Northampton militia .....	1,648	
Montgomery return .....	58	
	<hr/>	1,706
John Richards, general returns.....	1,635	
Montgomery return .....	156	
	<hr/>	1,791
James Morris, general returns.....	1,648	
Deduct defective votes .....	18	
	<hr/>	1,630
John Richards .....		1,635
James Morris, general and Northampton returns.	1,648	
Montgomery return .....	58	
Bucks return .....	91	
	<hr/>	1,797
Less defective votes .....	18	
	<hr/>	1,779
John Richards, general returns .....	1,635	
Montgomery returns .....	156	
	<hr/>	1,791

The report of the committee, illustrated by the preceding numerical statement, being before the House for consideration, it was, after debate resolved that the said John Richards was entitled to a seat in the House, and the resolution submitted by the committee was adopted.

The result of this contest seemed to have hinged upon the eighteen votes declared defective, in the Northampton return. There was no question as to the propriety of rejecting the two votes accepted by proxy. There was no law providing for the acceptance of such vote, and they were very properly rejected. The sixteen votes rejected, were rejected simply because their names did not appear on the tax registry. If these voters were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two years, or if over the age of twenty-two years, were the sons of electors, who were the owners of real estate, and had paid a tax thereon, they were certainly legal





voters, and the rejection of their ballots was clearly wrong. Had Mr. Morris been living he would doubtless have had the status of these votes clearly established, and it might have changed the result.

John Richards, the successful contestant, had theretofore been commissioned one of the judges of the several Courts of Montgomery County upon its organization in 1784. He had been elected a delegate to the convention which adopted the National Constitution in 1789, was defeated for Congress in 1796, and for the State Senate in 1799, but elected for the same position in 1801, re-elected in 1803, and in 1807 was defeated by Jonathan Roberts, Republican, who subsequently was elected to Congress, and was from that office advanced to that of a United States Senator. Mr. Richards in the 1807 canvass ran as a Federalist, and was supported by them. He again appeared as a candidate of the Federalists in 1810 for Assemblyman and was defeated.

James Morris had been prominent in the affairs of the County of Montgomery for years. He represented the County of Philadelphia in the General Assembly during the sessions of 1782 and 1783, before the organization of Montgomery county. He was appointed one of the first judges of the several courts of Montgomery County, upon its organization, and upon the resignation of Frederick Augustus Muhlenburg, July 23rd, 1785, became the President Judge, and served in that capacity until February 1, 1791. He was a delegate to the convention which adopted the National Constitution in 1789, and was elected a delegate to the convention that adopted the State Constitution in 1790. He was commissioned a Brigadier General by Governor Mifflin, April 19th, 1793, and had in charge the Montgomery County troops. He is buried in the Friends burying grounds at Plymouth Meeting, and was but forty-two years of age. He resided in Whitpain township at "Dawesfield" in the same house in which General Washington and General Lafayette had their headquarters in the latter part of October, 1777. It was in this



house that the Council of War was held October 29th, 1777, to consider the advisability of attacking the British in Philadelphia. In this house was also held that inquiry into the conduct of General Anthony Wayne, at Paoli, held at General Wayne's request, in which he was acquitted with the highest honors. In this house General Lafayette spent a week or ten days, after having been wounded at the battle of Brandywine, immediately after he was brought to this place from the hospital at Bethlehem, September 21st, 1777.

It was to this house that this Society made a pilgrimage in the Autumn of 1914.







RAILROAD AND CANAL.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS, 1834



## INCLINED PLANES

By EDWIN F. SMITH

In the famous work of Charles Dickens, entitled "American Notes," he gives the following description of his journey over the planes of the Allegheny Portage Railroad:

"We left Harrisburg on Friday. On Sunday morning we arrived at the foot of the mountain, which is crossed by railroad. There are ten inclined planes, five ascending and five descending; the carriages are dragged up the former, and let slowly down the latter, by means of stationary engines; the comparatively level spaces between being traversed, sometimes by horse, and sometimes by engine power, as the case demands. Occasionally the rails are laid upon the extreme verge of a giddy precipice; and looking from the carriage window, the traveler gazes sheer down, without a stone or scrap of fence between, into the mountain depths below. The journey is very carefully made, however, only two carriages traveling together; and while proper precautions are taken, is not to be dreaded for its dangers."

### *Portage Railroads and Their Uses*

The application of a number of the early railways to purposes similar to those served by portages in the Indian and primitive American systems of transportation, was probably better illustrated by the Portage Railroad than any other line, and this fact presumably suggested its name. Soon after its construction it was applied to the novel purposes described in the following statement:

"In October, 1834, Jesse Chrisman, from the Lackawanna, a tributary of the North branch of the Susquehanna, loaded his boat, 'Hit or Miss,' with his wife, children, beds, furniture, pigeons, and other live stock, and started for Illinois. At Hollidaysburg (on the other side of a high ridge of the Allegheny), where he expected to sell his boat, it was suggested by John Dougherty, of the Reliance Transportation Line, that the whole concern could be safely hoisted over the mountain and set afloat again in the canal. Mr. Dougherty prepared a railroad car to bear the novel burden. The boat was taken from its proper element and placed on wheels, and under the superintendence of Major C. Williams the boat and cargo at noon on the same day began the progress over the rugged Allegheny. All this was done without disturbing the family



arrangements. They rested at night on the top of the mountain, descended the next morning into the valley of the Mississippi, and sailed for St. Louis. After this incident boats were so constructed that they could be divided into sections and hauled over the railroads on trucks without breaking bulk, but they were not extensively used until about 1840. Cars were also used which could be lifted from their tracks and loaded on boats of special construction."

### *Early Canal Projects*

The Union Canal, or forerunners of it, in the nature of projected improvements for providing an artificial junction between the waters of the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill, was probably the first project of the kind seriously discussed in the colonies. William Penn referred to the subject two centuries ago. It received some consideration before the Revolutionary War. It was chiefly on account of the importance attached to it that the following interesting historic letter was written, in 1772, by Benjamin Franklin, to S. Rhoads, who was then Mayor of Philadelphia:—

"London, Aug. 22, 1772.

"Dear Friend:

"I think I before acknowledg'd your Favour of Feb. 29. I have since received that of May 30. I am glad my Canal Papers were agreeable to you. I fancy work of that kind is set on foot in America. I think it would be saving Money to engage by a handsome Salary an Engineer from here who has been accustomed to such Business. The many Canals on foot here under different great Masters, are daily raising a number of Pupils in the Art, some of whom may want Employment hereafter, and a single Mistake thro' Inexperience in such Important Works, may cost much more than the Expense of Salary to an ingenious young man already well acquainted with both Principles and Practice. This the Irish have learnt at a dear rate in the first Attempt of their great Canal, and now are endeavoring to get Smeaton to come and rectify their Errors. With regard to your Question, whether it is best to make the Schuylkill a part of the Navigation to the back country, or whether the Difficulty of that River, subject to all the Inconveniences of Floods, Ice, &c., will not be greater than the Expense of Digging, Locks, &c., I can only say that here they look on the constant Practicability of a Navigation, allowing Boats to pass and repass at all Times and Seasons, without Hindrance, to be a point of the greatest Importance, and, therefore, they seldom or ever use a River where it can be avoided. Locks in Rivers are subject to many more Accidents than those in still water Canals; and the Carrying away a few locks by Freshets of Ice, not only creates a great Expense, but interrupts Business for a long time till repairs are made, which may soon be destroyed again, and thus the Carrying on a Course of Business by such a Navigation be discouraged, as subject to frequent interruptions. The Toll, too,





must be higher to pay such Repairs. Rivers are ungovernable things, especially in Hilly Countries. Canals are quiet and very manageable. Therefore they are often carried on here by the Sides of Rivers, only on Ground above the Reach of Floods, no other Use being made of the Rivers than to supply occasionally the waste of water in the Canals.

"I warmly wish Success to every Attempt for Improvement of our dear Country, and am with sincere Esteem.

"Yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

I congratulate you on the Change of our American Minister. The present has more favourable Disposition towards us than his Predecessor. To S. Rhoads, Esq.

On the 2d of April, 1811, the legislature passed an act to incorporate "the Union Canal Company, of Pennsylvania." The name was chosen because the new corporation was really a union of the old Schuylkill and Susquehanna and the Delaware and Schuylkill canal companies. The preamble recited that those corporations had made strenuous efforts to carry out the objects of their charter, but had failed. They were, therefore, dissolved, and a new company formed of the stockholders of the old corporations, whose relative rights were adjusted in the new distribution of the capital.

### *Raising Money by Lottery Schemes*

Work was again interrupted by the war of 1812, and comparatively little was done until a mode for raising funds to continue operations was furnished by the passage of an act March 29th, 1819, granting an interest of 6 per cent. to subscribers to stock of the canal, with the understanding that the money needed for paying such interest should be derived from a lottery or series of lotteries authorized. To increase the feasibility of this scheme, the company was granted a monopoly of the right of conducting lotteries in Pennsylvania. This programme was materially strengthened by the passage of an act on March 26th, 1821, by which the State was pledged to pay any deficiency of interest which the lottery could not produce.

A power to issue lottery tickets had been part of the original scheme, and granted by an act passed April



17th, 1795, but up to 1810 the company had only realized about \$60,000 from the lottery. Subsequently the lottery operations became quite lucrative and a source of great abuses.

The plan of aiding the Union Canal by giving it exclusive authority during a considerable period to establish lotteries was by no means peculiar to Pennsylvania. It seems to have been a favorite resource with adjacent States for the nominal accomplishment of similar purposes. A lengthy address, issued in Philadelphia in 1833 setting forth the evils of the lottery system, said that there were more than two hundred lottery offices in that city, and that there had been offered for the sale in them during the year, tickets in 420 schemes, authorized by New York, Virginia, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina. The sale of tickets in all these schemes, which represented aggregate prizes of \$53,136,930, was prohibited by law in Pennsylvania, except 26 schemes for the benefit of the Union Chapel, which represented prizes amounting to \$5,313,056. In commenting upon these facts the address referred to said:

"Thus the people of Pennsylvania have been made to contribute to the internal improvements of New York, Virginia, Connecticut, Rhode Island and North Carolina, Maryland and Delaware, as well as to pay a large sum to a company of their own State, whose grant has expired. . . . Pennsylvania, by being the great mart for nearly all the lotteries of the United States, has reason for emphatic complaint. In defiance of all her legislative prohibition of foreign lotteries, her citizens are annually subsidized to an immense amount; perhaps for a church in Rhode Island, or a railroad through the Dismal Swamp, or for other improvements in which she has as remote a prospect of interest or advantage."

### *Early American Railway Projects*

It would be difficult to trace each stage of proceedings that finally lead to the establishment of railways in the United States. At some periods few things were attempted which were not imitations of something that had previously been done in Great Britain. But this rule had notable exceptions, the first of which was the





invention of a high pressure engine, which, under favorable circumstances, could presumably have been developed into a successful primitive locomotive, by Oliver Evans, an able and successful inventor, at an earlier date than any equally important forerunner of the locomotive has been devised elsewhere. There were no railways in America at the period when Evans first conceived his plan of a steam road wagon, and he was obliged to look, but in vain, for a field of practical utility, to turnpikes or a slight modification of them. He nevertheless was an ardent, although unsuccessful, advocate of steam railways, and he was the first citizen of the United States who combined with such advocacy positive proofs of ability to devise a machine capable of moving itself and additional weight by steam power, over ordinary streets or roads. In a letter published in Niles' Register, dated November 13, 1812, Oliver Evans describes at length the steps he had commenced, soon after 1772, to construct steam wagons, and to organize methods for applying them to useful service. He makes this reference to what was probably his most remarkable original discovery.

"At length a book fell into my hands describing the old atmospheric steam engine. I was astonished to observe that they had so far erred as to use steam only to form a vacuum to apply the mere pressure of the atmosphere instead of applying the elastic power of the steam for original motion; the power of which I supposed irresistible. I renewed my studies with increased ardor and soon declared that I could make steam wagons."

In a work published in or about 1813 he repeated in a still more emphatic manner, some of the ideas expressed above. He said:

"The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines, from one city to another, almost as fast as birds fly, fifteen or twenty miles an hour. . . . A carriage will set out from Washington in the morning, the passengers will breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia, and sup at New York, the same day. . . To accomplish this two sets of railways will be laid, so nearly level as not in any place to deviate more than two degrees from the horizontal line, made of wood or iron, or smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, with a rail to guide the carriages, so that they may pass each other in different directions, and travel by night as well



as by day; and the passengers will sleep in these stages as comfortably as they now do in steam stage boats."

Colonel John Stevens, of Hoboken, whose advocacy of a railroad instead of a canal is referred to by Oliver Evans, was the first American who combined a very early championship of railway improvements with persistent and judicious efforts that finally led to important practical results. He commenced advocating the construction of railways in New York about 1810, and in 1811 applied to the legislature of New Jersey for the first American railway charter, which was granted in 1815. When the agitation of schemes for constructing a canal to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson seemed to be assuming a practical shape in 1812, Colonel Stevens urged the New York Commission of Inland Navigation, of which Gouveneur K. Morris was chairman, to construct a railway, instead of a canal, as a connecting link between those great water channels, and, although his suggestions were rejected, they helped to direct public attention to the practicability of improved iron highways, and they embodied the first clear conception of a lengthy and extensive railway. The comprehensive nature of his plan may be inferred from the fact that his outline of them, as furnished in February, 1812, was as follows:—

"Let a railway of timber be formed, by the nearest practicable route, between Lake Erie and Albany. The angle of elevation in no part to exceed one degree, or such an elevation, whatever it may be, as will admit of wheel carriages to remain stationary when no power is exerted to impel them forward. This railway, throughout its course, to be supported on pillars raised from three to five or six feet above the surface of the ground. The carriage wheels of cast iron, the rims flat with projecting flanges, to fit on the surface of the railways. The moving power to be a steam engine, nearly similar in construction to the one on board the Juliana, a ferry-boat plying between this city and Hoboken."

This conception closely resembled the New York elevated railways, and although it differs widely from the method of construction subsequently adopted by the lengthy steam lines, it was far in advance of the plans that had been suggested by other inventors.

Note.—Thomas Leiper, a citizen of Philadelphia, Pa., owned an extensive acreage of land and large stone quarries, in 1790, along Crum



Creek near what is now the town of Swarthmore, in Delaware county, Penna. It was difficult to get the product of his quarries to the Delaware River for transportation to Philadelphia so he conceived the idea of building a railroad as a solution of the problem; and to try out the scheme he had constructed an experimental track in the court-yard of the old Bull's Head Tavern, in the Northern Liberties, which proved practically successful. This was in 1809. He then immediately had constructed, under a competent engineer, a railroad from his quarries at Avondale and along the banks of Crum Creek, passing through what is now Leiperville, near Chester—to the shipping dock at the mouth of that creek on the Delaware River. The cars were drawn by horses and so continued in operation until after the death of Mr. Leiper, when his son—George Gray Leiper—substituted a canal, in 1828, as a more economical system. This canal paralleled the creek, and locks were built, and the stream used where possible. The railroad, modernized—is still in use as a spur of the B. & O. R. R. It skirts the estate of the late former Governor Wm. C. Sproul, and is crossed, near Avondale, by a recently built concrete bridge on the Sproul Highway; and a bronze marker built into the masonry records this historic early public improvement—the first railroad and the first canal. Ed. See United States Gazette, 29 Sept., 1809; The "Aurora" of same date; and also "Thomas Leiper"—a monograph, by S. Gordon Smyth. Ed.





## RAFINESQUE—THE ERRANT NATURALIST

By S. GORDON SMYTH

Were it not for the fact that the work of the subject of this sketch is, to some extent, connected with Montgomery county and relates to certain of its early citizens whose scientific accomplishments have reflected great glory on its history,—it might not be deemed worthy of special interest to you, but as it is well within the purposes for which we are organized it should be considered proper, at any rate, to record anything concerning our county, or that this region has in any way contributed to the sum total of human enlightenment.

From the re-establishment of peace at the conclusion of the Revolution, and for some decades thereafter,—America was looked upon as a land of wonders—not only in that she had won her independence from a formidable and almost unconquerable power,—but that she had—containing within her bounds such a remarkable variety of unexplored resources as to attract the cultured investigators from the exalted schools of organized knowledge and learned societies of Europe, and many were the travelers, *literati* and scientists who came to browse among the virgin fields of our physical possessions during a period that came well within the nineteenth century.

Among those pathfinders of exact science was one whose researches are little heard of today and if his name is referred to it is coupled with some allusion to that erratic life so darkly colored in later years by his domestic miseries, and the envy, prejudices and criticisms of his compeers,—that it overshadowed all the results he achieved of material benefit to mankind and terminated in desolation and poverty.

By some he is remembered only as a conspicuous object of compassion, rather than as one of the con-



quering figures in the realms of natural science. This man was one of the picturesque characters of his era and his intimacy with our locality and its flora and fauna has no doubt found its place in his voluminous writings, and this should make the consideration of his life work a matter of interest to us.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque was the son of G. S. Rafinesque—a French merchant of Marseilles, whose wife, Mme. Schmaltz, was born in Greece, of German parentage. Our subject was born in Galatea, a suburb of Constantinople, Turkey, in 1783. He married Josephine Vaccaro, a Sicillian woman in 1808.<sup>9</sup> Rafinesque died in Philadelphia, in 1840, in his 56th year. His career was as varied in quality as his nativity and domestic relations were cosmopolitan in their character.

In the frightfulness of the French Revolutionary times the commercial house of the parents was destroyed; the father and some of his kin fell beneath its terrors; and the survivors of the family fled to Leghorn and from thence to the sunny slopes overlooking the bay of Genoa, where the home was revived and the childhood of Rafinesque, yielding to the dominant influence of that wonderful environment, received its first vital impressions of the majestic glory of nature.

Passing over the commonplace phases of the boy's early years and noting only those elements which show the trend of his mind,—it may here be stated that he never attended college but was privately tutored in those studies which would fit him for a mercantile career such as had been his father's. Thus he acquired several languages, and during this time he rambled much about the country, studying the scenery of his Italian home, becoming deeply interested in, and making observations of its topography; read much, and, as he said: "I was greedy for reading \* \* \* \* I

9. In a newspaper item published about 1919—the writer of it states that "the Historical Society of Pottstown, Pa., covered his grave with a large slab of stone, bearing his name and date of death and headed with the legend, 'Honor to whom Honor is Overdue.'" Ed.





had read the great universal history, and a thousand volumes of books on many pleasing subjects." This was probably an exaggerated statement, however, at the age of 12 years all this precocious learning began to find expression, and his first essay entitled, "Notes on the Apennines" then produced,—clearly showed his love for, and his mental attitude toward the problems of the natural sciences.

In the next few succeeding years Rafinesque took on a wider curriculum, and his studies included drawing, geometry, medicine, natural and moral philosophy, and other academic preparations, so that he was, at a quite early age, fairly fitted to venture into the world upon his own resources. And now, with a view of entering upon a commercial life, supplied with letters of introduction, and accompanied by his only brother, —Rafinesque came out to Philadelphia from Leghorn in one of the Clifford Brother's ships in 1802.

We are told that shortly after his arrival here Dr. Benjamin Rush offered our subject an opening in medicine, but, preferring commerce Rafinesque accepted a situation with the shipowners instead.

It may well be imagined that the duties and obligations of business were novel to a youth whose tastes and predilections were of an opposite nature, and whose earlier pursuits were so free and satisfying; however, a few weeks of irksome restraint amidst uncongenial associations and surroundings bred within him a spirit of restlessness and an insistent yearning for the freedom of the fields and their rarer joys.

Cholera having made its appearance in Philadelphia in this summer, Rafinesque embraced the opportunity to forsake his clerical duties to take refuge in Germantown where he dwelt with a Col. Forrest, an older man, but one of sympathetic tastes and temperament, and with whom, until the autumn, he remained.



The Col. Forrest<sup>1</sup> here mentioned was Thomas Forrest, a prominent and popular citizen in the civic and social life of Germantown, tho' he is said to have been a somewhat peculiar character. He lived at the time on a small, but fine estate, later known as "Pomona Grange," at Main street and Washington Lane and near the Concord school house. Over those grounds a part of the Battle of Germantown was fought, and the old mansion had been used as a base for the tailors and shoemakers attached to the Continental army.

Col. Forrest himself had served in the Revolutionary War, first as the Captain of 2d Co. of Proctor's Penna. Artillery, then later commanding the personal guards of General Washington while the latter was at Trenton. Near the close of the war he gained promotion to a Lieutenant Colonelcy in the Pennsylvania Line, but resigned his commission in 1783. In the nineties it appears that he commanded a troop of Philadelphia Co. Light Horse.

Col. Forrest was noted, also, as an inveterate practical joker, and as a result of one of his pranks he was publicly reprimanded at Valley Forge by General Washington for having wilfully chalked a number of the huts of the cantonment with the information that they contained "smallpox here" this caused alarm to a neighboring Jersey regiment and many of its men to desert. As there was no foundation in fact for this statement it drew from General Washington the, no doubt, well deserved rebuke tho' it made Col. Forrest an avowed personal enemy of the Commander-in-Chief.

In 1811, Col. Forrest sold the "Grange" property and retired to his farm at Township Line and Haines

1. Col. Thomas Forrest in early life was apprenticed to an apothecary in Philadelphia and there absorbed an elementary knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants which interested him throughout his life. On the breaking out of the Revolution he became 2nd Lieut. in the company of Capt. Alexander Graydon, 3rd, Pennsylvania Battalion. He was in several engagements, and was taken prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y. His distinguished service; his courage and bravery in action won him several promotions. In 1815 he was a member of Congress, and in his later life affiliated with the Society of Friends and adopted their language and garb. Col. Forrest died at his country home near Germantown, 25th March, 1826, in the 83rd year of his age. Ed.



street. When well advanced in years he served in Congress from 1819 to 1823.

The Colonel was deeply interested in arboriculture and expressed it in the adornment of his grounds with artificial lakes, set out rare and valuable plants, fruits and trees, among the latter was a famous yew tree which ornamented the lawn until a comparative recent date. To this home and its domesticity, Rafinesque was welcomed and soon became an intimate associate of Col. Forrest. Together they explored the locality, studying and collecting its plants, visiting Bartram's Botanic Garden on the lower Schuylkill, and Marshall's at West Chester, and returned from thence, by way of Norristown, so we may well believe that in the new and varied forms of the flora thus encountered in this county, and in which study he developed intense delight, that our own beautiful and useful plants met with his due appreciation and a place in his future botanical publications.

Through the visitation of cholera again in the following year, and with the alluring fascination of outdoor life and adventure amid nature's lavish attractions, finally caused Rafinesque to relinquish his commercial employment and give himself wholly up to the pursuit of botany. His earnestness of purpose, and with a charming personality of manner, soon made him known to, and acquainted with, many of the local naturalists; while his explorations, taking him farther and farther afield, extended his knowledge, not only the various form of plant life, but with other phases of natural science, so that by the time he was 21 years of age he had traveled through the adjacent States; penetrated the regions of the Allegheny mountains, making notes by the way, and meeting with men of higher learning, maturer years and prominence to the end that he had established friendships with them that were to be of material benefit to him in later years. Thus he came to know John Adams, who had been President; Thomas Jefferson, who was then President;





James Madison and James Monroe, both of whom were destined soon to fill the same exalted office.

Rafinesque so impressed President Jefferson that he received an invitation to Monticello; but as Rafinesque could not then accept, (and was unable to do so later) he often afterward expressed regret that he had thus lost an opportunity to become better acquainted with one of the leading living statesmen and philosophers of that time. It was soon after this that Lewis & Clark's expedition was organized to explore the sources of the Missouri and lay the trail to Oregon. Into this party Rafinesque applied to be admitted as its botanist, as also, at the same time, Alexander Wilson sought to join "as ornithologist and hunter," but for some reason not now clear neither of these naturalists succeeded in securing the coveted positions in the expedition. So again, Rafinesque applied for a professorship in the faculty of the University of Virginia, Jefferson's great institution at Charlottesville, but this application met with no better success than before. In the meanwhile Rafinesque had visited the herbals of Muhlenberg at Lancaster, (one of Montgomery's sons who had been born at the Trappe; and was the first botanist of distinction this county ever had) de-Schweinitz, the great authority on fungi; the Moravian college and settlement at Ephrata; Gaissen, in Bucks County; the iron-mines at Cornwall; Vanderschott at Reading; Van Vleck at Bethlehem; the Blue Mountains, and the Juniata above Harrisburg, where he fossilized among the formations, and herbalized amid the flora. These experiences widened the range of his observations and activities so that in that year he had traveled about a thousand miles afoot, with an energy as tireless as his enthusiasm was unbounded. Even at this time reports of his researches had gone abroad, or were communicated to the learned societies in the principal capitals of Europe, where men, such as Savi, of Pisa; Cuvier, of Paris; Radi, of Florence, and others of their order, became interested and opened



correspondence with him with such results that Rafinesque soon attained an international reputation.

Early in 1805 a profitable opportunity was opened to him whereby he could combine his natural fondness for travel and gratify his love for the sciences, with the commercial training he had acquired, and so turn them all to account. In May of that year he left Philadelphia for Palermo, in Sicily. And we are told in beautiful phrases how the new land impressed him on his arrival there—"in the month of May when the air was embalmed with the emanations of orange blossoms carried far to sea in the night by the land breezes. The mountains were smiling with flowers and verdure, they invited me to climb over them. The view of Palermo and the bay is very fine but not equal to that of Naples with the smoking Vesuvius." Here, to state the facts concretely, he spent three years as secretary of the U. S. consulate, during which time he explored the island and learned its natural resources; discovering drugs and other sources of trade. He manufactured and exported syrup of squills; rosemary, wormwood, bay leaves and other medicinal products; operated a brandy distillery; enlarged his circle of friendly scientists and took to wife Josephine Vaccaro. "It was," said he, "the best epoch of my life; the events of those ten years might afford material for a romance." How prophetic! But then he adds in conclusion, "Sicily offers a beautiful soil, delightful climate, excellent production, perfidious men and deceitful women." And herein lies the tragic foundation of his subsequent trouble and bitterness, and his future isolation from the genial companionship of his fellows.

In 1815, overwhelmed by the loss of his younger child, a son, and a subsequent distressing situation in his household, Rafinesque "turned his eyes toward the United States." With the collection of scientific objects he had amassed, some drugs and other merchandise; together with a part of his library, Mss., maps, cabinet and herbal, he sailed for this country by way of the Azores. There, he, for a few days, spent the





time in his favorite pursuits, and then re-embarking shortly after approached the States via Montauk Point on Long Island. The wind being unfavorable for proceeding down the coast, the vessel headed for New York through the Sound, and on November 2d, while nearing Fisher's Island, the vessel was wrecked on the submerged "Race Rocks" and was lost. In this disaster Rafinesque seems to have parted with all his belongings, saving only some funds which he had strapped about him. He, with the survivors, landed at New London and finally reached New York, where, through the efforts of personal friends, he was glad to accept a situation as tutor to the three daughters of Robert Livingston, who lived at Cleremont on the Hudson, and had been the friend and patron of Robert Fulton, the inventor of steam navigation. In the course of the winter the Livingston family went to Charleston, S. C.; and again Rafinesque was obliged to shift for himself. Proceeding to Philadelphia he rejoined his former friends.

In the following spring he resumed his rambles in this and the adjoining States, but giving special attention to the study of fishes and shells, and so frequented the ponds, lakes and the seashore; meanwhile, having recovered the insurance on the loss of his effects by the shipwreck, he endeavored again to establish himself in trade and undertook some exportations to Sicily. For a time this promised well; eventually, however, he met further losses through the rascality of his Sicilian agent; and by numerous law-suits and bankruptcy proceedings, until he was obliged to relinquish any more attempts of a commercial nature.

It was about this time that he became a member of the Philosophical Society, and, in consequence, his ambition took a wider range of subjects which he wished to investigate and exploit. We also find this record of him: "On 6th February, 1816, C. S. Rafinesque and Dr. B. Barton offered themselves as candidates for the professorship of Natural History and Botany in the University of Pennsylvania. . . . Dr. Barton was elected."



We find Rafinesque in 1818, on his way to, and beyond the Alleghenies; observing, as he went along, every phase of Nature's diversified expressions that would add to his knowledge; and the results of which he later printed in small pamphlets, or contributed to the newspapers of the day.

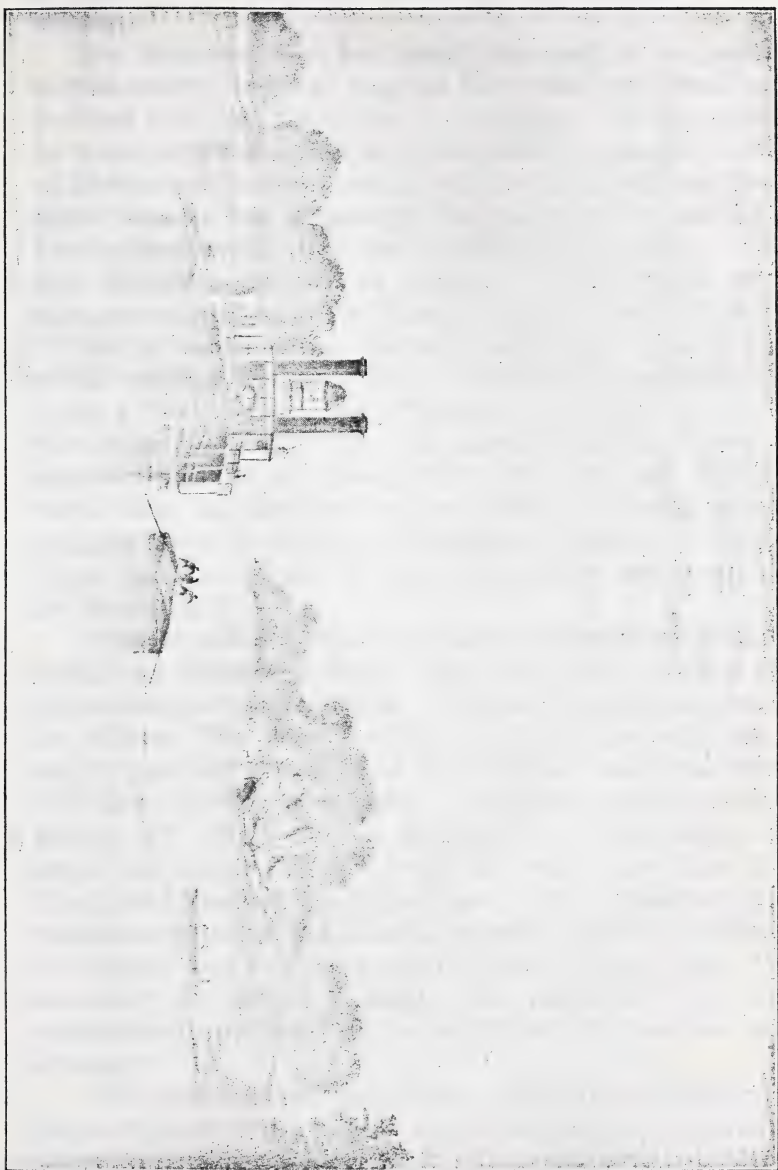
At Pittsburgh he contracted with a firm of publishers to survey and map the course and topography of the Ohio River and its shoreland from that point to its mouth; a kind of work such as he had previously performed in Italy. There was then much need for a modern map of the Ohio, when upon its bosom was then being carried the voyageurs to the New West. In addition to the remuneration he was to receive for this work, it gave him the further advantage of studying and sketching the fish of the western waters, a branch of science in which he was now passionately interested, and that in a region, too, as yet scientifically unexplored, but in which he was to be the pioneer. One of the results of that eventful trip, and of later ones, was the publication of Rafinesque's "*Ichthyologia Ohiensis*," a work of unusual interest and originality. The map, then also in the making, was of an ambitious character as it involved the charting of the devious courses of the river, and in plotting the physical features of its valley, and all upon a scale of four miles to the inch. Here, again, as in prior dealings with business people, and through looseness in the way the contract was drawn, Rafinesque suffered the loss of much that was due him in the way of compensation.

It was while on this trip down the Ohio in a flat-boat—a journey that he writes of in raptures—that he broke his tour at Henderson, Ky., "and spent some days," so he writes, "with Mr. Audubon, the ornithologist, who showed me his fine collection of drawings which he has since published in England."<sup>1</sup>

We may pause here to relate the meeting between these two original characters, for it was this incident that led to so much adverse criticism on the conduct

1. Audubon was exploring Kentucky before 1792. Ed.





EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE OHIO





of both naturalists, the most severe of which reflected on the lack of courtesy shown by Mr. Audubon to a stranger.

Mr. Audubon, who had spent the most of his youth in this county and had married here, was now dwelling in what was then the wilds of Kentucky. At this time he was operating a mill and conducting a general store at Henderson, a river landing on the Ohio, while at the same time he was preparing the material for publication of that work that was to make him famous. As this narration will be of interest, I shall quote the words of Audubon and others, in relating the incident: "What an odd-looking fellow!" said I to myself, as while walking by the river, I observed a man landing from a boat, with what I thought a bundle of dried clover on his back; "how the boatmen stare at him! sure he must be an aboriginal!" He ascended with a rapid step, and approaching me asked if I could point out the house in which Mr. Audubon resided. "Why, I am the man," said I, "and will gladly lead you to my dwelling."

"The traveler rubbed his hands together with delight, and drawing a letter from his pocket, handed it to me without any remark. I broke the seal and read as follows: "My dear Audubon, I send you an odd fish, which you may prove to be undescribed, and hope you will do so in your next letter. Believe me always your friend, B." With all the simplicity of a woodsman I asked the bearer where the odd fish was, when M de R. (for, kind reader, the individual in my presence was none else than the renowned naturalist), smiled, rubbed his hands, and with the greatest good humor said, "I am that odd fish, I presume, Mr. Audubon." I felt confounded and blushed, but contrived to stammer an apology.

"We soon reached the house, when I presented my learned guest to my family, and was ordering a servant to go to the boat for M. de R.'s luggage, when he told me he had none but what he brought on his back. He then loosened the pack of weeds which had first drawn



my attention. The ladies were a little surprised, but I checked their critical glances for the moment. The naturalist pulled off his shoes, and while engaged in drawing his stockings, not up, but down, in order to cover the holes about the heels, told us in the gayest mood imaginable that he had walked a great distance, and had only taken a passage on board the ark, to be put on this shore, and that he was sorry his apparel had suffered so much from his late journey. Clean clothes were offered, but he would not accept them, and it was with evident reluctance that he performed the lavations usual on such occasions before he sat down to dinner.

"At table, however, his agreeable conversation made us all forget his singular appearance, and, indeed, it was only as we strolled together in the garden that his attire struck me as being exceedingly remarkable. A long loose coat of yellow nankeen, much the worse of the many rubs it had got in its time, and stained all over with the juice of plants, hung loosely about him, like a sack. A waistcoat of the same, with enormous pockets, and buttoned up to the chin, reached below over a pair of tight pantaloons, the lower parts of which were buttoned down to the ankles. His beard was as long as I have known my own to be during some of my peregrinations, and his lank black hair hung loosely over his shoulders.

"His forehead was so broad and prominent that any tyro in phrenology would instantly have pronounced it the residence of a mind of strong powers. His words impressed an assurance of rigid truth, and as he directed the conversation to the study of the natural sciences, I listened to him with as much delight as Telemachus could have listened to Mentor.

"He had come to visit me, he said, expressly for the purpose of seeing my drawings, having been told that my representations of birds were accompanied with those of shrubs and plants and he was desirous of knowing whether I might chance to have in my collection any with which he was unacquainted. I observed





some degree of impatience in his request to be allowed at once to see what I had. We returned to the house, when I opened my portfolios and laid them before him.

"He chanced to turn over the drawing of a plant quite new to him. After inspecting it closely, he shook his head, and told me no such plant existed in nature; for, kind reader, M. de R. although a highly scientific man, was suspicious to a fault, and believed such plants only to exist as he had himself seen, or such as, having been discovered of old, had, according to Father Malebranche's expression, acquired a "venerable beard." I told my guest that the plant was common in the immediate neighborhood, and that I should show it to him on the morrow. "And why tomorrow, Mr. Audubon? let us go now." We did so, and on reaching the bank of the river, I pointed to the plant. M. de R. I thought had gone mad. He plucked the plants one after another, danced, hugged me in his arms, and exultingly told me that he had got not merely a new species, but a new genus. When we returned home, the naturalist opened the hundle which he had brought on his back, and took out a journal rendered waterproof by means of a leather case, together with a small parcel of linen, examined the new plant and wrote its description. The examination of my drawings then went on. You would be pleased, kind reader, to hear his criticisms, which were of the greatest advantage to me, for, being well acquainted with books as well as with nature, he was well fitted to give me advice.

"It was summer, and the heat was so great that the windows were all open. The light of the candles attracted many insects, among which was observed a large species of *Scarabeus*. I caught one, and, aware of his inclination to believe only what he should himself see, I showed him the insect and assured him that it was so strong that it would crawl on the table with the candle-stick on its back. "I should like to see the experiment made, Mr. Audubon," he replied. It was accordingly made, and the insect move about, dragging its burden so as to make the candle-stick change its



position as if by magic, until coming upon the edge of the table, it dropped on the floor, took to wing, and made its escape.

"When it waxed late, I showed him the apartment intended for him during his stay, and endeavored to render him comfortable, leaving him writing materials in abundance. I was indeed heartily glad to have a naturalist under my roof. We had all retired to rest. Every person I imagined was in deep slumber save myself, when of a sudden I heard a great uproar in the naturalist's room. I got up, reached the place in a few moments, and opened the door, when to my astonishment, I saw my guest running about the room naked, holding the handle of my favorite violin, the body of which he had battered to pieces against the walls in attempting to kill the bats which had entered by the open window, probably attracted by the insects flying around his candle. I stood amazed but he continued jumping and running round and round, until he was fairly exhausted, when he begged me to procure one of the animals for him, as he felt convinced they belonged to "a new species." Although I was convinced to the contrary, I took up the bow of my demolished Cremona, and administering a smart tap to each of the bats as they came up, soon got specimens enough. The war ended, I again bade him good-night, but could not help observing the state of the room. It was strewn with plants, which it would seem he had arranged into groups, but which were now scattered about in confusion. "Never mind, Mr. Audubon," quoth the eccentric naturalist, "never mind, I'll soon arrange them again. I have the bats, and that's enough."

"Several days passed, during which we followed our several occupations. M. de R. searched the woods for plants, and I for birds. He also followed the margins of the Ohio, and picked up many shells, which he greatly extolled. With us, I told him, they were gathered into heaps to be converted into lime. "Lime! Mr. Audubon; why, they are worth a guinea apiece in any part of Europe." One day as I was returning from





a hunt in a canebrake he observed that I was wet and bespattered with mud, and desired me to show him the interior of one of these places, which he said he had never visited.

"The cane, kind reader, formerly grew spontaneously over the greater portions of the State of Kentucky and other Western Districts of our Union, as well as in many farther south. Now, however, cultivation, the introduction of horses and cattle, and other circumstances connected with the progress of civilization, have greatly altered the face of the country, and reduced the cane to comparatively small limits. It attains a height of from twelve to thirty feet, and a diameter of from one to two (inches) and grows in great patches resembling osier-holts, in which occur plants of all sizes. The plants frequently grow so close together, and in course of time become so entangled, as to present an almost impenetrable thicket. A portion of ground thus covered with canes is called a cane-brake.

"If you can picture to yourself one of these cane-brakes growing beneath the gigantic trees that form our western forests, interspersed with vines of many species, and numberless plants of every description, you may well conceive how difficult it is for one to make his way through it, especially after a heavy shower of rain or a fall of sleet, when the traveler, in forcing his way through, shakes down upon himself such quantities of water, as soon reduced him to a state of the utmost discomfort. The hunters often cut little paths through the thickets with their knives, but the usual mode of passing through them is by pushing one's self backward, and wedging a way between the stems. To follow a bear or cougar pursued by dogs through these brakes, is a task, the accomplishment of which may be imagined, but of the difficulties and dangers accompanying which I cannot easily give an adequate representation.

"The canes generally grow on the richest soil, and are particularly plentiful along the margins of the





great rivers. Many of our new settlers are fond of forming farms in their immediate vicinity, as the plant is much relished by all kinds of cattle and horses, which feed upon it at all seasons, and again because these brakes are plentifully stocked with game of various kinds. It sometimes happens that the farmer clears a portion of the brake. This is done by cutting the stems, which are fistular and knotted, like those of other grasses, with a large knife or cutlass. They are afterwards placed in heaps, and when partially dried set fire to. The moisture contained between the joints is converted into steam, which causes the cane to burst with a smart report, and when a whole mass is crackling, the sound resembles discharges of musquetry. Indeed, I have been told that travelers floating down the rivers, and unacquainted with these circumstances, have been induced to pull their oars with redoubled vigor, apprehending the attack of a host of savages, ready to scalp every one of the party.

"A day being fixed, we left home after an early breakfast, crossed the Ohio, and entered the woods. I had determined that my companion should view a cane-brake in all its perfection, and after leading him several miles in a direct course, came upon as fine a sample as existed in that part of the country. We entered, and for some time proceeded without much difficulty, as I led the way, and cut down the canes which were most likely to incommode him. The difficulties gradually increased, so that we were presently obliged to turn our backs to the foe, and push ourselves on the best way we should. My companion stopped here and there to pick up a plant and examine it. After awhile, we chance to come upon the top of a fallen tree, which so obstructed our passage that we were on the eve of going round, instead of thrusting ourselves through amongst the branches, when from its bed in the centre of the tangled mass, forth rushed a bear, with such force, and snuffing the air in so frightful a manner, that M. de R. became suddenly terror-struck and, in his haste to escape, made a desperate attempt to run, but



fell amongst the canes, that he looked as if pinioned. Perceiving him jammed in between the stalks, and thoroughly frightened, I could not refrain from laughing at the ridiculous exhibition which he made. My gaiety, however, was not very pleasing to the savant, who called out for aid, which was at once administered. Gladly would he have retraced his steps, but I was desirous that he should be able to describe a cane-brake, and enticed him to follow me, by telling that our worst difficulties were nearly over. We proceeded, for by this time the bear was out of hearing.

"The way became more and more tangled. I saw with delight that a heavy cloud, portentous of a thunder gust, was approaching. In the meantime, I kept my companion in such constant difficulties, that he now panted, perspired, and seemed almost overcome by fatigue. The thunder began to rumble, and soon after a dash of heavy rain drenched us in a few minutes. The withered particles of leaves and bark attached to the canes stuck to our clothes. We received many scratches from briars, and now and then a twitch from a nettle. M. de R. seriously enquired if we should ever get alive out of the horrible situation in which we were. I spoke of courage and patience, and told him I hoped we should soon get to the margin of the brake, which, however, I knew to be two miles distant. I made him rest, and gave him a mouthful of brandy from my flask, after which, we proceeded on our slow and painful march. He threw away all his plants, emptied his pockets of the fungi, lichens, and mosses which he had thrust into them, and finding himself much lightened, went on for thirty or forty yards with a better grace. But, kind reader, enough—I led the naturalist first one way then another, until I had nearly lost myself in the brake, although I was well acquainted with it, kept him tumbling and crawling on his hands and knees, until long after midday, when we at length reached the edge of the river. I blew my horn, and soon showed my companion a boat coming to our rescue. We were ferried over, and, on





reaching the house, found more agreeable occupation in replenishing our empty coffers.

"M. de R. remained with us three weeks, and collected multitudes of plants, shells, bats and fishes, but never again expressed a desire of visiting a cane-brake. We were perfectly reconciled to his oddities, and finding him a most agreeable and intelligent companion, hoped that his sojourn might be of long duration. But, one evening when tea was prepared and we expected him to join the family, he was nowhere to be found. His grasses and other valuables were all removed from his room. The night was spent in searching for him in the neighborhood. No eccentric naturalist could be discovered. Whether he had perished in a swamp, or had been devoured by a bear or gar-fish, or had taken to his heels, were matters of conjecture; nor was it till some weeks after, that a letter from him thanking us for our attention, assured me of his safety." —(See "Ornithological Biography," by J. J. Audubon, Edinburgh, 1831, p. 455 &c.)

Another view of Audubon's treatment of Rafinesque is taken from the "Pioneers of Science," the writer of which states—"In one of his summer trips Rafinesque became acquainted with Audubon who was then painting birds and keeping "a little grocery store" down the river at Henderson, Ky. A part of the story of this visit which Audubon does not tell may be briefly related. Audubon was something of a wag withal, and some spirit of mischief led him to revenge the loss of his violin on the too ready credulity of his guest. He showed him gravely some ten grotesque drawings of impossible fishes which he had "observed down the river" with notes of their habits, and the list of the names by which they were known by the French and English settlers. These Rafinesque duly copied into his note-book, and later published descriptions of them as representatives of a new genera, these singular genera so like and yet so unlike anything yet known have been a standing puzzle to students of fishes. Many of the hard things said of Rafinesque's work rest



on this unlucky genera "communicated to me by Mr. Audubon," says Rafinesque.

Dr. Call, the most recent biographer and ablest defender of the true worth and work of Rafinesque, writing in "The Life and Writings of Rafinesque," also relates the above episode and gives piquancy to the facts, and also takes the occasion to obtain justice for the memory of the naturalist, and, while paying tribute to the genius of Audubon,—gives expression, nevertheless, to the unfavorable opinion which some people held at the time toward the ornithologist. Here we will dismiss the controversy.

From Audubon's Rafinesque continued his travels through the Illinois country then returned to Henderson's Landing and proceeded across Kentucky; roamed over its tablelands, its deserts, meadows and streams; part of the time traveling with an itinerant clock-pedlar, but all the while observant of every detail of its natural, physical character.

At the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), he spent some time with his friend Mr. Clifford, the ship-owner and a former Philadelphian who had now become one of the pioneer manufacturers of the new West. Clifford persuaded Rafinesque to remain in Kentucky, and if he would do so, his friend would procure for him a professorship in the Transylvania University which was then the first place of classical learning beyond the Alleghenies; and, when the vacation periods came around they together, would traverse the surrounding country to enrich their respective collections and museums. Rafinesque agreeing to this proposition, then completed his survey of the Ohio, and while returning East thru its valley, was astonished to find the mystical mounds of remote races of men. He was at once fired with a determination to study the archæology of the ancient Indians as a basis for a future history of the antique nations of America.

In the winter of 1818-19, he was busy corresponding with various scientists and such societies in Europe; finishing his map of the Ohio River; classifying and





describing specimens, and shipping some of the material to his contemporaries abroad. Those to Baron Cuvier, in Paris, included a description of 70 new genera of animals, which was published a few months later in the "Journal des Physiques."

About this time Rafinesque declined a chair in chemistry in one institution, and a professorship of botany, zoology and geology in another; but having accepted a similar position in botany, natural history and modern languages in the Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky.,<sup>1</sup> he prepared to take up his duties there.

It is of interest to note that in returning to Kentucky, he went from Philadelphia to Baltimore on a steamboat! Crossing the mountains for the third time he again visited the Indian mounds at Marietta, and at other points on the Ohio, and then proceeded to Maysville, Ky., all the while exploring the hitherto inaccessible places en route, and seeking interpretation from the new material he found; and so diverse was its character, that it seemed "there was no sphere of science that he did not invade."

In the autumn he assumed his teaching at the University and spent there seven years<sup>2</sup>—years of indefatigable industry which were marked with profound zeal and learning, as an instructor of the youth of that unique commonwealth. He taught classes of young men and women in medical botany, mineralogy, zoology, phrenology, the natural and moral history of mankind. In addition to modern languages; he em-

1. Transylvania College was the outgrowth of the Transylvania Seminary which was established at Crow's Station—now Danville—Ky., in 1783 through an endowment of 8000 acres of land given by the State of Virginia. Rev. David Rice, a native of Pennsylvania, who had been preaching at Harrod's Station in that year, was installed as its first president. Later in 1783 the seminary and academy were merged and removed to Lexington, Ky., and in 1798 and were known as the Transylvania University. Dr. Rice was the first Presbyterian minister to settle in Kentucky, and under his administration, and the popularity and success of his labors, he was called "The Patriarch of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky."

At the time of Rafinesque's connection with the University Dr. Horace Holly was its president, and he gave the young scientist much encouragement and assistance. Dr. Holly had attained high rank as a scientist, and Rafinesque occupied the chair of natural science and modern languages; this early and promising friendship later gave way to personal animosity between the two professors, and the ousting of Rafinesque. Ed.

2. It was while at Transylvania University that Rafinesque developed those personal peculiarities that prompted David Starr Jordan to write "no more remarkable figure has ever appeared in the annals of science."





ployed means to exhibit, or illustrate, his lectures so that in that distant day he seems to have anticipated the "object lesson" systems in vogue these later years.

Rafinesque's vacations were spent afield, and were the means of remarkable progress made in discovering new genera, and in exploiting advanced ideas in science. While in Lexington he became secretary of the Kentucky Institute, the earliest of the scientific societies in the west. He wrote technical essays, and published in the WESTERN REVIEW his "Ichthyologia of the Ohio and its Tributaries." Several numbers of his "Commonist" appeared in the KENTUCKY GAZETTE. He contributed his observations on the archæology, philology and ethnography of the Indians to the newspapers; wrote essays for Sillman's Journal of Science; investigated the limestone stratas; traversed the "barrens" and delved into the mysteries of the "knobs," or craters of the ancient mud-springs; the Big-Bone and other salt "licks"; the Mammoth Cave and the various natural curiosities that abound in Kentucky's fecund soil.

While in Lexington Rafinesque organized a botanic garden patterned after Bartram's and Marshall's, both near Philadelphia. Then he traveled over Tennessee, and wherever else his enthusiasm led him. While in Kentucky he visited Henry Clay and made the acquaintance of Governor Shelby, Generals Harrison and Covington; looked in upon the Shaker villages, and gave lectures as he passed through the country.

Rewards for his contributions to science came to Rafinesque in the form of diplomas which he received from the Imperial National Curiosorium of Bonn, and kindred organizations in Paris, Brussels, Zurich, Cincinnati and Philadelphia. But, because he "had not studied Greek," recognition for the degree of A. M. was withheld from him for a time, by the Transylvania University! It may be stated, parenthetically, that his relations with President Holley and the faculty of the University he was serving, were far from being pleasant at this time. He had, in the earlier years of his in-



cumbency lost his friend Clifford by death, and was now without a confidant and advisor, so that the intrigue resulting from the animosity of the college dons finally forced him out. After the visit of Gen. Lafayette, in June, 1825, Rafinesque left the University and made a tour of the East again.<sup>1</sup>

It was about this time that Rafinesque made a pilgrimage to the middle West, to what is known today as New Harmony, where the followers of Father Rapp had an extensive settlement in the prairie country along the flats of the Wabash river, in the present Posey Co., Indiana. This colony while in the throes of dissolution, had just been absorbed, through purchase, by Robert Owen, a mill-owner, manufacturer, philanthropist and philosopher of New Lanark, near Glasgow, Scotland. Owen bought the 30,000 acres with its improvements and established upon it some hundreds of colonists that were attracted thence by the success of the founder's socialistic propaganda in England and Scotland. The history of this odd venture is one of the most interesting and unique in the annals of American communistic undertakings of which there were many about this period.

Just here it may be well to turn aside for a moment to mention a coincidence; Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, N. Y., in an address to the Commercial Club, at Cincinnati, on Saturday

<sup>1</sup> It was in the year 1825 that Rafinesque severed his relations with Transylvania University, and co-incidental with the following bit of historical information on "Lincolnia" quoting from Carl Sanberg's sketches on the famous president—

"In the year 1825, ox-teams and pack-horses came through Gentryville, Indiana, carrying people on their way to a place on the Wabash River they called New Harmony. A rich English business man named Robert Owen had paid \$132,000 for land and \$50,000 for tools, live stock and merchandise, and had made a speech before Congress at Washington telling how he and his companions were trying to find a new way for people to live their lives together without fighting, cheating, or exploiting each other, where work would be honorable, yet there would be time for play and learning; they would share and share alike each for all and all for each. In January, 1826, Owen himself with a party of thirty people came down the Ohio River in what was called the 'boat-load of knowledge.' More ox-wagons and pack-horses kept coming past the Gentryville cross-roads; about a thousand people were joined in Owen's scheme at New Harmony on the Wabash. The scheme lighted up Abe Lincoln's heart. His eyes were big and hungry as a hoot-owl's as he told Dennis Hanks 'There's a school and thousands of books there, and fellows that know everything in creation.' 'The schooling would have cost him about \$100.00 a year, and he could have worked for his board. But Tom Lincoln had other plans for his son Abe.' So for the next three years he 'worked around,' and in 1828,—went flat-boating on the Mississippi trading to New Orleans. Ed.





evening last, April 19th, 1919, makes this statement: "The words SOCIALISM and SOCIALIST, though less than a century old, have become very common among us and are so loosely and so variously used as to make it difficult to think clearly regarding the ideas for which they stand." I take this occasion to say that these words first became current in the discussions of "The Association of All Classes of All Nations" which was formed by Owen, in England, in 1835, for the purpose of exploiting his peculiar communistic views." (This was a specimen of Bolshevism, 90 years ago!)

In this New Harmony experiment, upon which subject a great deal can be said, men and women were bound together in a social compact to live simple, idealistic lives as exemplified in the teachings of Owenism. The society, in which individualism was eliminated, was operated upon the idea that "the members were to possess all things in common, and to work for the common good." We are told that "the members were of a motley description, many worthy people of the highest aims were mixed with vagrants and adventurers and crotchety and wrong-headed enthusiasts." In this atmosphere, then, Rafinesque spent some time and found himself associated with such highly cultured men with similar tastes and temperament to his own, as Chas. A. Leseurer, the artist, botanist and traveler; Thomas Say, the entomologist, and the father of Dr. Benjamin Say; William Maclure, a scientist who had been—or was soon to be, the president of the Academy of Natural Science in our city of Philadelphia; Robert Dale Owen,<sup>1</sup> the eldest son of the founder, author, editor and later a member of Congress from Indiana; David Dale Owen, his brother, who was to gain distinction later as the surveyor of some of the early Western States; Fanny Wright, a brilliant Englishwoman, the pioneer of the rights of women and a practical antagonist of slavery, and many other persons

1. Robert Dale Owen was one of the best known Spiritualists living in his day. He was often in Philadelphia where he conducted seances. One of the most remarkable of these involved a well-known publisher in which the noted Katie King was the medium under the direction of Dr. Holmes. Ed.



of similar intellectual eminence. "This colony," says one writer, "was far in the backwoods \* \* \* and it was, for a time, fairly to be called the centre of American science." The colonists came to be known as "Owenites," and the settlement—"one of the foremost communities of scientists in the country, if not of the world." Like most efforts of this character, the project came to naught. Rafinesque finding himself involved in the discords of this fraternity, departed eastward from it.

At Washington Rafinesque met President J. Quincy Adams, Major McKinley, and other officials of the government, presumably, while seeking some congenial employment. At Havre-de Grace he stopped with Mr. Adlum, a scientist and a surveyor of note, with whom he spent some time in the vineyards studying vines and later bringing out the result in an elementary treatise on the culture of vines ("Manual of Vines").

Our wayward naturalist then gave some time to his friends in Baltimore; from thence he went to Philadelphia where he consulted with other friends relative to a Divital Invention a method of stock apportioning combined with a saving fund scheme which he had devised, and which, in a way has become practical and is now a part of our fixed system of finance.

In the fall of that year Rafinesque returned to Kentucky, and while on the way, delivered lectures in the principal cities on scientific subjects. While in Kentucky he visited Gen. Taylor, Capt. John Cleves Symmes, the author of concentric circles, polar openings in the Arctic seas, and other data.

Upon arriving in Lexington, Rafinesque discovered that the college authorities had taken summary action against him in his absence; he found that he had been ousted from the faculty and from his position as librarian of the University; his rooms had been forced and all his effects thrown promiscuously into a corner, and he was otherwise made to understand that his presence there was undesirable. Chagrined, but undismayed, he accepted the situation; abandoned the





superintendency of the Botanic Garden, lingered awhile in the town then resumed his wanderings toward the East, but in the direction of the Great Lakes.

On visiting Niagara Falls, he says—"This phenomena of Nature excited my admiration, instead of horror caused by *Ætna*. Few naturalists have seen these two great phenomena and compared the sublime effect of water and fire." And then he goes on to narrate the natural wonders of the vicinity and commented on the scenery and on the lessons thus afforded in botany and geology. Enthused by his views of *Niagara* he visited other natural water-falls as he went along his way, notably those at Rochester, Utica, Mohawk, Cohoes and Trenton, all of whose individual characteristics were observed and noted by him.

At Troy, N. Y., he spent a little time with his friend, Prof. Eaton; and at the Military Academy, at West Point, he made a brief sojourn with Prof. Torrey, for whom he had assisted in naming a species of southern evergreen, and from among which we may cite: "*Torreya Grandis*," "*Torreya Taxifolia*," and "*Torreya Californiensis*." Later in the fall Rafinesque reached Philadelphia.

Early in 1826 the story of Rafinesque begins to take on its local coloring, for in that year we are brought face to face with familiar facts, well-known personages and vagrant historical data as it was in that Spring that he went out to Germantown and spent some of his leisure with a Mr. Betton. Now this Mr. Betton was probably either Dr. Samuel Betton, or his son, Dr. Thomas Forrest Betton, who was a grandson of Col. Thomas Forrest. Each successively lived in the "White Cottage" at the corner of Manheim street and Green Lane; a home which had not only a fine reputation for its "vegetables, fruits and ampelopsis covered trees," but was the residence of a notable collector of plants, the favored resort of naturalists, and where, we are informed by Mr. E. C. Jellett,—"*To this place C. S. Rafinesque—one of the most eccentric, but*





one of the ablest writers upon America's natural History, was a frequent visitor."

Rafinesque, at this time, also visited Reuben Haines, of whom he says "He took me in his gig to Valley Forge on the river Schuylkill, to visit a new community established there by a company, but which I found disorganized as the others." Reuben Haines was then the owner and occupant of the charming old homestead of "Wyck," in Germantown, a congenial retreat of scientists among whom have been noted Thomas Say, J. J. Audubon, Rafinesque and others; moreover, Mr. Haines was active in the Academy of Natural Sciences and naturally, drew within the circle at "Wyck" men of like standards.

Mr. Hocker tells me that there was a particular community located at Valley Forge, about 1826, that was known under the title of "The Friendly Society of Mutual Interests" and whose constitution is still somewhere in existence.

Consulting the files of the Norristown Herald, I found, under date of March 15, 1826, this news item. "A Society to be located at Valley Forge, in Chester county, and conducted on Mr. Owen's principles—have so far commenced their operations as to issue bank-notes, or, bills of exchange in the nature of bank-notes. This is in violation of law and does not argue well for the future operations of the Association." In this connection it is worthy of note here to state that after Mr. Owens' return to England "one of the most interesting features of his movement there, at this period, was the establishment, in 1832, of an equitable labor exchange system, in which exchange was effected by means of labor notes, the usual means of exchange and the usual middlemen being alike superseded."

Scanning the time tinged files of the news of that day one finds frequent reference to the progressive, but downward, tendency of Owens' regenerative system; the disillusionment of his followers; the subsequent criticism of its management and his repudiation by old associates, and then, September 26th, 1827, its finality



in the dissolution of the whole American fabric which had been reared by Robert Owen upon the false premise of the equality of all people.

When the Spring was well advanced, the Schuylkill Valley afforded a rich field for research—"And where," says Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, "the forests, in all their original richness, have contributed data to our Montgomery county flora." Quoting further, one may add "that no more beautiful or picturesque scenery in eastern Pennsylvania, than can be found in passing down the valley from Norristown to Philadelphia. Here nature has been particularly lavish in dispensing her floral treasures." During the summer Rafinesque herbalized throughout its length and made many excursions from Philadelphia to such local points as Manayunk, Spring Mill, "Gulph Gap," Norristown and Valley Forge; then to the copper mines on the Perkiomen that had been discovered in the Audubon locality by Dr. Gilpin, in 1791; and then to the Yellow Springs in Chester county. Indeed, there were but few places about us that were not invaded by the persistence and penetration of this odd naturalist in his meanderings. We may be sure, however, that he found much to interest him as a scientist, especially about Spring Mill and Lafayette. We are told about the purple-flowered raspberry found then only near what is now West Conshohocken, and the beautiful climbing fumitory growing in the sequestered ravines leading up from the river. We here learn what Rafinesque saw at the Gulph—"Up the ravine about two miles is the Gulph Rock, in its immediate vicinity are much of laurel, varieties of violets, and the wild pansy or hearts-ease. There are, too, the columbine, arbutus, mandrake, snake-root, and a host of floral familiars. Water-lilies grew in Gulph Creek, and near Spring Mill, and the "soap stone quarry." And then we are told by a contemporary naturalist that "the whole rocky river border has long been favorite ground for the botanists, all the way from the Perkiomen, and the Valley Forge Hills, eastward." But who is there among us that can-





not vouch the truth of these statements or who has not witnessed the profusion with which nature has clothed these hills and dales with beauty, and sweetened its atmosphere with the fragrance of its luxurious bloom?

That winter Rafinesque became connected in some way with the work of the Franklin Institute. He writes that he gave "a course of lectures on Natural History on the Earth and Mankind to a large class in the Franklin Institute," and, afterward, in 1827, "I became Prof. of Geography and Drawing in the High School of the same institution, and continued my researches on the History of the Nations and Languages of America in the libraries of Philadelphia, and Mr. Duponceau lent me his MSS. collection of vocabularies." In an attempt to gather original information on this period of his career the writer corresponded with the authorities at the Franklin Institute and learned that the only reference they could find to Rafinesque's connection with it was an entry on the Minutes of the Board of Managers to the effect "that the question of purchasing a certain collection of minerals was refererred to Prof. Rafinesque. This establishes, at any rate, the fact that he was in some way connected with the Institute at the time he states—1826-27."

From an interesting little memorial volume, written by Mr. Edwin C. Jellett, entitled—"Recollections of William Kite"—further light is thrown on the subject of the Professor's relation to the Institute; as well as something more human and humorous on his personality—"Mr. Kite attended the botanical lectures given by Constantine S. Rafinesque. These lectures were given at the Franklin Institute, in its building, on the east side of Seventh street below Market street, Philadelphia. Rafinesque was a peculiar man whom his contemporaries could not understand or appreciate. Like Bacon, with all his learning, so Prof. Rafinesque deployed many fields than he could hope to conquer", \* \* \* Mr. Kite described Rafinesque as a corpulent man, with queer French accent, and said he sometimes became very angry with the class when he appeared to



lecture. His odd manner and dress attracted the boys who laughed and made fun of them, and his lot seemed not to have been an ideal one. 'Rafinesque,' said Mr. Kite, 'was very large about the waist and wore wide Dutch pantaloons of a peculiar pattern, and never wore suspenders. As he proceeded with a lecture, and warmed up to his subject, he became excited, threw off his coat, his vest worked up to make room for the surging bulk of flesh and the white shirt which sought an escape, and heedless alike of his personal appearance and the amusement he furnished,—was oblivious to everything but his subject.' In spite of Dr. Darlington's adverse criticism—which Mr. Kite also relates,—“Mr. Kite considered Rafinesque a very able man.”

The experience of Rafinesque as a lecturer and teacher at the Franklin Institute, seems to have been of very short duration,—but he probably held it for the winter and spring terms. The coming of summer allured him to the open again, this time to travel through the New England States as far as Boston, and from which city he returned to Philadelphia by way of the Berkshire Hills,—then, as it is still, a country of wild and rugged beauty. Crossing from Pittsfield, Mass., to Albany, N. Y., he stopped on the way at the Shaker settlement at New Lebanon, N. Y. He seems to have had a passion for the odd and the unusual forms of social life in America, for he was often attracted out of his planned routes, and turned aside, to visit some remarkable example of this sort—if one may judge from his notes on such subjects.

Rafinesque's return to Philadelphia was marked by a new diversion in his career,—nothing more nor less than in setting himself up as “a healer,” or, as he styles his profession—“a Pulmonist,”—and the manufacturing of Pulmon—his remedy for the cure of consumption. “Why not?” As Dr. Call tersely puts it—“He was an example of the adage, ‘Physician heal thyself’—for he had had the phthisis and effected his own cure, and being relieved, sought to bring his healing powers to the aid of others.”





His agents for the sale of pulmol in Philadelphia were Christopher Marshall and Frederick Brown and with consultations at \$5.00 and \$10.00 each, and an increasing clientage, "he was, in a measure. successful." When he resumed his tours about the country again it was for the double purpose of satisfying his passionate zeal for scientific knowledge; to establish agencies, and stimulate sales of his panacea; and in this latter part of his program he was fortunate in creating quite a circle of dispensaries, and some of them in out-of-the-way places where he had never before been; thus he found his way to New Hope, Easton, Mauch Chunk, Schooley's Mt. in New Jersey; to Staten and Long Islands in New York; and then traversed the length of the Hudson river valley until the close of the season brought him back to Philadelphia.

At sometime during this year he began the publication of his "Medical Flora of the United States"—a work of considerable merit in that day, but now rarely seen and very scarce. This work described 105 native plants, accompanied by as many plates illustrating them, together with 500 equivalent names. We are told by its author that the information it contains "was gathered in over 8000 miles of travel through fourteen states." It is dedicated to his friends, Dr. John Torrey, of the University of New York; Dr. Short, of the University of Lexington, and Mr. Stephen Elliott, of the Medical School at Charleston, S. C., and with an appreciation for assistance rendered, to Dr. Mease and Zacheus Collins, of Philadelphia, and to Dr. John Eoff, of Wheeling, and others. The preface set out that the "Medical Flora" was designed as "a practical manual of medical botany for the daily use of medical students, physicians, druggists, pharmacists, chemists, botanists, florists, herbalists, collectors of herbs and others," and that "works of general utility ought to be accurate, complete, portable, and cheap. Such alone can spread the required knowledge and suit any class of readers."

The year 1830 was absorbed by Rafinesque in short trips to nearby points in New Jersey; and in another,





but longer one to Albany and Troy, New York. At the latter place he gave lectures at the Van Renssalaer Institute. After his return to Philadelphia a large part of his time was devoted to arranging the subject matter for his portfolio volumes and his drawings and engravings therefor, meanwhile corresponding with such scientists as Cuvier; Swainson, an English ornithologist; Descandole; Balbi; Ferusaac and other eminent located in the capitals of Europe.

In the following year Rafinesque furnished Baron Cuvier, in Paris, with certain duplicates of his work to be put on sale there. At this time, also, he sent to the Geographic Society of France two of his productions relating to, "Primitive Negroes of Asia and America," and had the honor of receiving from it, in 1833, its gold medal, the first reward of the kind he had yet received from any learned society of which he was a member, or a correspondent, by way of recognition of his service. Apropos of this incident Rafinesque notes, "In America prizes are often offered and never awarded."

In the next year, 1831, Rafinesque explored the Schuylkill Valley from its mouth to Norristown; made another tour to the Shaker settlements at New Lebanon, N. Y., and at Canaan, Conn. Between trips he had a habit of resorting to Bartram's (then Robert Carr's) Garden and he never ceased to extol the rarities he found there. He managed always to keep in touch with local celebrities and of these he writes: "I cultivated the friendships of old friends, or of liberal savans (savants), Dr. Mease, Secretary of Philadelphia Society for Promotion of Agriculture; Duponceau; Prof. Green; Conrad, (Timothy, uncle of Dr. C. C. Abbott) a naturalist, conchologist and later geologist of the State of New York; Johnson; Tanner; Durand; Helmbold; Brown; Poulson; Peale; Kim; Logan; Hamilton and others in and about the city.

Rafinesque states that it was again in the year 1832 that he went to Baltimore by railroad from New Castle; and how he spent some time at Willow Grove,



partook of its mineral waters and herborized the region for 20 miles to the north of it. When the cholera re-appeared in Philadelphia he fled to the Catoctin mountains in Maryland; visited the "waters of Belinda"; the Antietam iron-works; Sharpsburg and Frederick. Coming back by way of Carlisle he went into Sherman's Valley, and by Peter's Mountain reached the Juniata river where he studied its fishes, and those of the Susquehanna while on his way to Harrisburg to visit Governor Wolf. When the cholera had run its course he returned to Philadelphia.

Rafinesque now began to organize savings-banks which would pay 6 per cent. dividends to stockholders, but the scheme was opposed by other banks and capitalists, so it was left to slumber awhile. Meantime he continued the preparation of his great work, his illustrated travels and researches; this was to consist of 30 volumes, folio size, *a la Audubon*, and to contain 3000 figures. This ambitious project was never consummated.

During 1833 Rafinesque was most industrious. He investigated the pine-barrens and marl-pits of New Jersey, "went to Baltimore by a new way through the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, completed July 4, 1829, 13 miles long, "a fine work navigable for sloops"; he crossed the Potomac at the Point-of-Rocks and followed the Catoctin range to Leesburg, in Loudon Co., (Va.), Valley—all the while herborizing along the banks of the Potomac and the Shenandoah rivers. From Harper's Ferry and on up through the Catoctin Valley to Frederick, and then on to the Monocacy region, thence, by stage,—because of lameness,—until he arrived in Philadelphia. Later in the season he repeated his trips to Spring Mill; and when winter checked his ramblings he turned his attention to the development of an idea for making chemical paint that would render wood indestructible.

When the spring of 1834 opened his restless activity took him to the cedar swamps of South Jersey—"where the holly grows in salt marshes and ponds." He gave





some attention to the pine-woods, but seemed more interested in the whale fisheries on the lower bay-shore; and so in this vagrant manner he traveled the coast as far as Barnegat. Again we trail him on a botanical trip as he trudges his solitary journey to the sources of the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers, from whence he crossed the Kaaterskill mountains toward Albany and Troy, thence to Coopersburg, Ostego Lake and Cherry Valley. Following the course of the Mohawk, he swung around in such way as to bring him back to New Brunswick, N. J. Here he inspected a quarry recently opened, and writes that it is "to make a causeway for the Raritan Canal that will soon unite this city to Trenton." From New Brunswick he pursued his way to the foot of the Sussex mountains and along it to Allentown, Pa., upon which he makes this comment: "Nearly as large as Reading, population 4000; chiefly German." Homeward, he staged from Bethlehem, where he evidently had been visiting von Sweinitz's herbarium; this scientist, beside being a naturalist, was also a Moravian minister. Rafinesque then came home by way of the Flemington road, passing thru Shimersville, Hellersburg, "the trap rocks," Lexington, Headstown, Montgomery Square, Flourtown, Checotin, (Conshohocken), Chestnut Hill, Mount Airy and Germantown.

Rafinesque's plan of 6 per cent. savings-banks had now sufficiently matured, through the assistance "of some strong and conscientious colleagues",—to carry the institution into successful operation. Having seen this venture assured, he left Philadelphia, July 4th, 1834, by the Columbia railroad and "arrived the same day at the mines and mining-towns 82 miles distant."

At this point we reach the conclusion of his available notes. For the further career of the naturalist, and the estimate placed upon him and his works we must rely upon quotations from other writers,—and all these are illuminating, reflecting—as they do—the critical opinion of his friends and others.

As a side light, however, to the preceding narrative,



we take some extracts from a few pages of his personal account book which the writer was able to find in his search for Rafinesquiana.

"Statement of Properties, 1st January, 1832"

Claim on Zacheus Collins' Estate.....	\$ 342.00
Pulmol in hands of Agents in Pittsburg, Norfolk, Cincinnati, Louisville, Baltimore, Washington, York, Leesburg, Wilmington, Lancaster, Trenton, Easton, Boston, New York, Hudson, Albany, Utica, New Haven, and other places as per schedule.....	1,520.00
200 Wood cuts of flowers and plants belonging to Medical Flora .....	2,400.00
Value of my Library .....	1,250.00
Value of my Medical Flora & Flora of Louisiana .....	570.00
Value of my Maps and Engravings.....	360.00
Value of original Maps, Drawings, Views and sketches .....	240.00
Value of MSS. Tellus, History of America, Journals, Tracts, & .....	1,000.00
Value Books sent to DeCandole .....	60.00
Amount Books sent to Baron Cuvier, of Paris, last July to be deposited at a booksellers for sale .....	160.00
Value amount of Pulmol in my hands.....	750.00
Value amount of Drugs in my hands .....	100.00
And with claims collectable, all told.....	852.00
<hr/>	
Totalling .....	\$9,262.00

*Memoranda From Day Book*

Value of my Herbarium of 36,000 specimen plants @ \$5 the 100.....	\$1,800.00
Value of my collection of Shells, about 200 specimens @ 25c ea. ....	500.00
Value of about 400 other specimens of Natural History @ 2½c ea. ....	100.00
Value of my collection of Minerals, 800 specimens @ 25c ea. ....	200.00





Value of my collection of Fossils, not shells,  
1600 @ 25c ea. .... 400.00

Beside value of my claims on the Transylvania  
University, Transylvania Botanic Garden,  
loss by robbery at Palermo, Italy,—all of  
the above can be sold to Stephen Girard if  
allowed by executors.

\* \* \* \* \*

January 10th, 1832, Enters suit against the Estate  
of Zacheus Collins.

Mentions value of 500 vols. Medical Flora in 2-vol.  
sets.

January 20th, 1832, Arbitrators appointed in suit  
against Collins.—John Diehl, Isaiah Lukens & Robert  
Toland.

Jesse Torrey is to get 500 copies "American Florist  
and Manual of Vines," and mentions his editing of the  
Atlantic Journal.

May 29th, 1832, Left for Baltimore by steamboat,  
\$4.00. Returned to Philadelphia 13th June—the whole  
of my journey to Baltimore cost me \$21.50.

August, 1832. My summer travels began and lasted  
all this month.

Sept. 12th. Whole expense of my travel cost me  
\$71.30.

Thomas Town did the printing of the Atlantic  
Journal.

January 1st, 1833, Received the gold medal awarded  
me by the Society of Geography of Paris, value \$20.00.

April 25th, 1833, Value of marl-fossils found in New  
Jersey \$25.00. Expense of my journey, \$1.00.

May 14th, 1833, Deposited Will at Probate of Wills'  
Office in Philadelphia, Mr. Graves, clerk, and departs  
on journey to the Appalachian mountains, May 15th,  
by way of Baltimore, taking \$150.00. Expense above  
journey to mountains of Virginia, \$35.00.

July, 1833, Expenses of journey to the sea shore of  
New Jersey \$15.50. Value of shells and plants collect-  
ed \$25.00.





August, 1833, Traveling all the while in New York.

Sept. 1833, Expenses of my journey to the sources of the Delaware and Susquehanna, \$103.00.

April 14th, 1834, Sold a medical herbarium to Mr. Helmbold, 26.

April 28th, Sent two boxes to sister Lanthois by brig "Pacific," via. Bordeaux.

May, 1834, Removed to Mrs. Howells and buy furniture, pillows, quilts, &c.

August 2d, 1834, Expenses of my journey to Easton \$5.50.

Nearly a century later modern reviewers of Rafinesque's times and work, render such tributes as these in classifying this man with our own Audubon, and the equally famous Laseuer. One says,—“The greatest of them all in respect to the range and extent of his accomplishments and the most gifted man who ever stood in our ranks, \* \* \* “he lived a century too soon,” \* \* \* “His spirit was that of the present period, his eccentricities seemed to me the outcome of boundless enthusiasm for the study of nature.”

In 1844, Prof. Agassiz wrote, “I am satisfied that Rafinesque was a better man than he appeared. His misfortune was that of his purient desire for novelties and his rashness in publishing them. He had collected a vast amount of information from all parts of the States upon a variety of subjects then entirely new to science. I think there is justice due Rafinesque.”

“Perhaps no American botanist has been so misrepresented and misunderstood as C. S. Rafinesque. Vain, ambitious and eccentric to the last degree; he was the first teacher of science west of the Appalachians, and one of the pioneer naturalists of the United States. \* \* \* In the bibliographical list given by Dr. Call, nearly 450 titles are quoted of articles, pamphlets and books written by him of which 141 are on botanical subjects. \* \* \* American botany owes him a great deal more than modern systemalists generally admit.”

“Most of his botanical writings were scattered through newspapers and magazines though he pub-



lished several more pretentious works. He was a passionate lover of nature. \* \* \* A keen observer and no mean thinker. In 1833, 26 years before Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared, Rafinesque had already pointed out the fact of evolution, though at the time nearly all scientists believed in the fixity of species. His name is commemorated among plants. In the genus *Rafinesquiana*, of the Compositae by Nuttall, and in the *Opuntia Rafinesquii* of Englemann. He founded many genera of which Gray recognizes 19. The Botanical Club of America credits him with 47, and Butler and Brown's Illustrated Flora, with 50. He was quicker to discover the relationships and differences among plants than most of his contemporaries. His descriptions were hastily written and brief. In forming an estimate of his work due allowance should be made for his lack of scientific training, his surroundings, and the crude state of science at the time. (See "The Botanists of Philadelphia").

"Rafinesque was small and slender with delicate and refined hands and small feet. His features were good and eyes handsome and dark, with dark eye lashes. His hair, which he wore long, was dark and silky. He was a clever draughtsman, but was careless in his personal appearance; his garments being often soiled with mud and in the stains from his various expeditions. He had a fine mind, but was always serious, he had none of the arts that make a man popular; he was very appreciative of kindness; was free and easy in his behavior; especially so when he was absorbed by the subject of his matters. His manner in society was generally distracted, his mind being occupied with his own thoughts and making little or no conversation with those about him. A man of peculiar habits; very eccentric; but most interesting. The students played tricks upon him and the young folks were amused by his funny ways. He seemed to be amiable, gentle, innocent, but in a different way, a sort of man hardly appreciated at the time. He was strongly built though of small stature; his head was





larger than usual for men of his build; square shoulders; dark eyes; face ruddy, but wan and pale—evidently the result of hard study; his clothes seemed not to fit him. He was not of a cheerful disposition and was rarely heard to laugh.

“No ordinary physique could have rendered such ceaseless activity; perform such arduous journeys; collected such numbers of natural subjects; prepared so many articles for publications and filled so completely the position of professor. He was of indomitable will, unbounded enthusiasm and great energy, these were his virtues.”

From “The Pioneers of Science in America” I glean the following extracts:—

“At Philadelphia it was said of him, ‘that no one knew where he came from, and no one knew where he went on his return.’ He had a sharp, tanned face; and his bundle of plants so heavy under which a pedlar would groan. Said a wit, ‘to grotesque, picturesque, we would add—Rafinesque,—to describe Rafinesque’s kind of style.

“Rafinesque was regarded as a high authority on the Book of Mormon. It was his theory, too, that the Indians were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel who come over from Asia by way of Siberia. He anticipated the modern doctrine of the origin of species—that related species have a common origin, new species and new genera are continually producing by derivation from existing forms. His writings are better appreciated today than then. He was a monomaniac on the subject of new species. Rafinesque studied in the field; collecting and observing during the summer, comparing and writing during the winter; but he depended too much upon his memory for his facts and details. He was a severe critic of other botanists and they repaid him with generous interest. Then it came about that the name and work of Rafinesque fell into utter neglect. His writings were published in small pamphlets, in cheap editions and at his own expense. The bulk of his note books and papers are preserved in



the National Museum at Washington, and are mostly in French, but written in a firm, clear hand.

"He made enemies among botanists by his overbearing ways, his scorn of their customs and traditions, and by his advocacy of crude and undigested, though necessary, reforms; so most of them decided to ignore his very existence. It became the habit to pass him with a sneer, as an inspired idiot, whose fertile imagination had peopled the waters of the Ohio. His failure seemed due to two things,—first, his lack of attention to details, a defect which has vitiated all his works, and second, his versatility, which led him to attempt work in every field of learning.

"Concerning one element in Rafinesque's character, I can find no record; if he ever loved man or woman, it was to aid him in his travels or schemes, and he gives no record of it. He speaks kindly of Audubon, but Audubon had furnished him with specimens and paintings of flowers and fishes. His own travels, descriptions and publications filled his mind and soul. He died at 56. His landlord knew him only as a "crazy old Doctor" and refused to allow his friends, such as he had, to enter the house to give him decent burial, for he wished to make good the unpaid rent by selling the body to a medical college. Dr. Bringham, who had studied botany with Rafinesque, got a few friends together—among whom was Dr. James Mease, the naturalist's friend and executor,—broke into the garret in which the body was locked, and let it down out of a window by a rope, carried it away and buried it in a little church-yard (Ronaldson's Cemetery, at 9th and Catharine Streets, Philadelphia.)"

Dr. Call, a later-day admirer and a sympathetic biographer, writes thus of the naturalist: "Like a school boy Rafinesque searched and found, studied and described, drew and sent abroad the wonderful forms in which he, almost alone,—now revealed. He had no one to sympathize with him in his work after his friend Clifford's death in the second year of Rafinesque work at the University of Kentucky. The Rafinesque of suc-





ceeding years was little or nothing of value to the man of science. He was called a mental wreck. He died in Philadelphia of cancer of the stomach, amid evidences of the most abject poverty; in a garret, surrounded by books, minerals, plants and other objects. He was a scientific recluse, there were none to care for or help him in his time of want; without a word of cheer. He was a man whose name and fame had gone to every land. DEAD! he yet lives and will live as long as plants shall be studied, and classified; as long as fish shall unwittingly fall into the net of the searchers; as long as the waters of the West shall give life to mollusks; as long as changing streams or floating clouds or morning star shall bear a message to man. Long may the name of him who studied them all, and loved them all, and understood them all—be revered by those who regard the labor of this pioneer!" What a tribute!

The late Mr. Thomas Meehan some years ago wrote an interesting article to The Public Ledger of Philadelphia, which contains a brief account of Rafinesque, and a synopsis of his will—which is remarkable for its peculiarities and fully evidences the errant mind of the poor naturalist.

"Rafinesque, one of the most brilliantly endowed naturalists who have studied the Flora of North America, a man, from personal peculiarities partly, and partly from the literary and scientific eccentricities of the later part of his life, was not appreciated by his contemporaries in this country or valued at his true worth by the generation which followed them, and it is only in our time that naturalists are beginning to realize the breadth of Rafinesque's mental equipments and the justness and value of many of his observations. His theory, for example, now universally acknowledged, that new species and genera are being continually produced by derivation from existing forms, appeared the utterances of a madman and entirely outside the teachings of the theological faith which before Darwin's time, had not lost its hold on scientific





thought. The burial place of this remarkable man long remained unknown, and it is only recently that it has been located in an obscure lot in Ronaldson's cemetery, at the corner of 9th and Catharine Streets, in Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup>"The plan of removing his remains to a more honored spot and of marking his resting place with a simple monument will be approved by every American naturalist.

"Rafinesque's will, rescued from oblivion by the energy of Mr. Miller Reeves of The Public Ledger, throws much light on the history and character of the man; and in bringing to light his domestic history gives a clue, perhaps, to the cause of some of the eccentricities of the later years of his life. It is not very creditable to the intelligence and public spirit of Philadelphia of 50 years ago to find that "one who evidently lived to do good as he understood it, who supposed he would have—when he made his will, not only something for his family, but enough to warrant a thought of benefiting orphan girls—should die in a garret on Race street, between 3rd and 4th Streets, in the midst of his great collection with nothing but a hard cot for furniture and no living soul at hand to close his eyes," and that "the medal he hoped should forever remain in his family should be summarily tossed into the mint as old gold, while the manuscripts, which should be judged by the Medical Flora of the United States, a truly valuable work even to this day, manuscripts on which he had depended for legacies and reputation,—should have been sold for \$5.00 only, while even the herbarium paper brought only \$20.00, and that his great collection of book and objects of natural history, costing \$7.00 to catalog, \$8.00 to clean, \$6.00 to carry and \$4.00 to help fill 8 wagon-loads to the auction mart,—should have realized only \$22.29!"

1. The ashes of Rafinesque, removed from Philadelphia in March, 1924, lie in a vault in the Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky. In the fireproof library about to be erected in that year the college authorities plan to place, with due honors, in a crypt prepared for it—the casket containing these ashes. Ed.



"Rafinesque evidently was of the opinion, when his will was written in 1833 (he died in September, 1840)—that he was a man of means. In it he bequeathed his "immortal soul to the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, the Supreme Ruler of millions of worlds soaring through space, to be sent to whatever world He may deem fit and according to His wise laws. SECOND, he provided that his body should be cremated, that "it may not contaminate the earth and be the cause of disease to other men." In the THIRD clause he leaves his personal property, consisting chiefly of scientific collections, books, patents, secrets and claims to his sister, Georgette Lousia Rafinesque, married to Paul Lanthois, of Bordeaux, and to his daughter, Emily Lousia. The FOURTH clause of the will is, perhaps, the most interesting in the light it throws on the personal history of the testator. "While residing in Sicily," it relates, "I deemed myself lawfully married from 1809 to 1815 to Josephine Vaccaro, although the degree of the Council of Trent forbade our regular marriage. In 1811 was born my daughter, Emily, and in 1814, my son, Charles Linnaeus, who died in 1815. But on hearing of my ship-wreck in 1815, Josephine suddenly married Giovanni Pizzalour, a comedian, and dissipated the property I had left in her hands. She also refused to send me my daughter, for whom I sent in 1816, and 1817, two brigs in succession to Palermo, the "Indian Chief" and the "Intelligence," wherefore I have ever since refused to notice her and do not leave her a single cent of my property as she has another family by a living husband."

"The SIXTH clause provides that his books, maps, engravings and collections of natural history, etc., shall be sold and the proceeds used by his executors to print and publish "my manuscripts, sketches and maps in the cheapest form in Europe and American in English or French, unless the copyright can be sold at an advance of 100 per cent. and 100 copies at least to be printed, the proceeds of these copyrights or sales are





to form the fund of my inheritance, to be equally divided between my sister and daughter."

The EIGHTH section names a number of these unpublished works, namely, "The History of American Nations," "Travels and Researches," "Tellers," or "History of Mankind," poem on "Instability," "My Biography," and place them in the hands of Prof. Torrey, of New York, and of Prof. Jacob Green, of Philadelphia, his executors.

NUMBER 17 provides that the gold medal, which was so summarily turned into the mint, and which had been awarded to Rafinesque by the Geographical Society of Paris, shall be left to his nephew, Jules Rafinesque, on condition that it shall be kept in the family of Rafinesque as an honorable record and as a reward of merit."

SECTION 21 is pathetic in view of the amount derived from the sale of the collection and manuscripts. It provides that "if the proceeds of my estate and posthumous works, patents and inventions should exceed the sum of \$10,000 or 50,000 francs, I direct that the interest, whatever it is, be put at compound interest in a saving bank for the benefit of the first female orphan school which shall be established in the United States as near as possible on the plan of Gerards Orphans College for boys, and if none is established within ten years after my decease, I give the same excess to the first free library that shall be established in a fire-proof building in the United States."

An inventory of the estate with the executors accounts is filed with the will. This last shows that when the estate was settled, after all the collections and books had been sold, including the six dollars, which seems to have been all the ready money Rafinesque had at the time of his death, the estate was indebted to the executors to the amount of \$13.43."



"How when competitors like these contend,  
 Can surly virtue hope to find a friend?  
 This mournful truth is everywhere confessed  
 Slow rises worth, by poverty depressed!

—Johnson.

The following information was received since the Rafinesque "paper" was read and should be included in this volume.

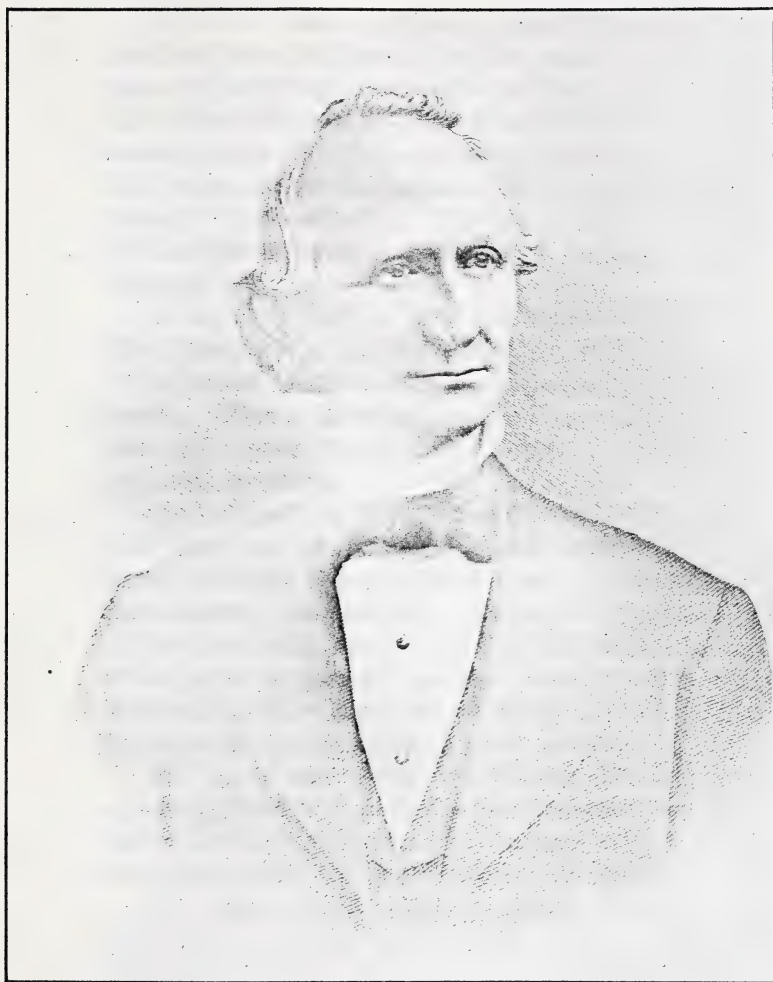
Extract from a letter from John M. McFarland, dated from the University of Pennsylvania, April 8th, 1916, which I have seen, it reads as follows:—"I have gone over the minutes and found that the late Charles E. Donaldson wrote our president, Dr. Miller, on 8th October, 1903, that C. S. Rafinesque, aged 63 years, died September 19th, 1840; buried in Ronaldson's Cemetery, in Lot No. 16, S. 11, W., third grave. His death is given as disease of the spleen. He is buried in one of the four lots that my grand-uncle, James Ronaldson, reserved for his friends."

From a newspaper clipping dated October 18th, 1919, I get the following—:

"A marker was placed over the grave of Constantine Smaltz Rafinesque, famous naturalist, in the old Ronaldson Cemetery, at Seventh and Bainbridge streets, Philadelphia, yesterday. The grave of the scientist was located here, after extended search, by Henry Mercer, of Doylestown, president of the Bucks County Historical Society, a wealthy tile manufacturer and donor of the Mercer Museum of Bucks County."

A few days later, in a conversation with Mr. Mercer, he confirmed this statement. Ed.





GEORGE SHANNON





Rev. J. H. H. H. H.

## THE SHANNON FAMILY

By ANNA R. SHANNON

I almost feel an apology should be offered—before reading what follows—for the reason that I met with many conflicting statements of facts—as well as dates of births and deaths—in the records of the family—in consequence of which—some of it may not be authentic. So I have called the paper—"Facts About the Shannon Family" instead of a "History of it," although many of the facts would necessarily involve some of its history.

I am indebted to Prof. Addams S. McAllister, of New York City, for his untiring efforts in helping me to get what I have written—especially about wills and deeds. These, however, will not be dwelt upon here—except to note transfers of property, lists of families and similar facts.

As far back as 1902 when this organization<sup>1</sup> held its first meeting—a meeting which was mainly brought about through the efforts of Lieut. W. H. Bean, then of Norristown, Pa., for the purpose of arousing interest in the genealogy and history of the early members and attendants of the old historic church of St. James. It was only a short time before many of us almost became faddists on the subject, myself among the number.

To begin the work, we visited the old graveyard adjoining—securing from the tombstones names and dates of burial especially of those whom history has connected with the early life of the parish.

We found very many familiar names. The descendants of these having met with us from year to year—we feel we know them—and enjoy their coming—so it has become our pleasure to recall each year, interesting facts of one or more families who at one time occupied the pews in which you are now sitting.

1. The Shannon Reunion.



We will now specially consider the family in question.

The first in the graveyard of the name of Shannon to attract our attention was Robert. Records tell us he was a resident in 1734 of what was then called "Norrington." This Robert was supposed to be the emigrant pioneer of the family, and to have come to America from Great Britain or Ireland. There seems to be a wide difference of opinion in regard to this point.

The emigrant Robert died in 1747, aged 80 years, therefore, born 1667—wife's name was Ann or Anna—do not know her maiden name. She lies buried beside her husband in the graveyard adjoining.

The two sons of the above Robert, who were given prominence, were John and James. I found no mention of daughters in the records of this time, but we infer there were, because of indirect statement made elsewhere.

John came before the public for the first time when he became much interested in a noted will case, that of a widow named Ann Bate—and later in the purchase of 150 acres of land from Isaac Norris, who was a large landholder in the neighborhood and owner, at one time, of lands from William Penn. About the same time, 200 acres were sold to Robert Shannon, probably father or son. The land on which Norristown is built was a part of the manor lands of William Penn.

Possibly most of you know that Norristown took its name from this Isaac Norris. It was first called the "Town of Norris," but when Montgomery County was separated from Philadelphia County, in 1784, it was called Norristown and became the county seat.

The wife of James, second son of Robert, was named Jane—maiden name unknown. James Shannon and wife Jane are supposed to have had three children, Robert, Rachel and Thomas; but in another document, the names were given, Robert, John, Elizabeth, Amy and Amelia. Of these children, Robert became a prominent physician and married Sarah Dewees, daughter of Dr. Robert Shannon, and Sarah (Dewees)





Shannon, married Daniel St. Clair, of Revolutionary fame. She was married in this church, February 3, 1791. Their family numbered fourteen children. Here we leave the family of James and return to John's family.

From records, we find these two sons were farmers or yeomen, and notwithstanding much work, they found time to keep up their interest in their church. Father, sons and grandsons were at different times holding office in St. James church as shown by the vestry book.

I will not follow the different branches of the family through inter-marriages except here and there some interesting fact may break into the main line, but will confine myself to direct descent in our line. John, son of pioneer Robert with wife Lydia or Lilly, and family—spent most of their life around this neighborhood. He was my great, great grandfather. The children of John and Lydia were, William, James, Jane, Robert, Mary, Rebecca and one I am unable to trace.

William married Elizabeth Pawling; James was my great-grandfather.

Jane married a Mr. Thomas.

Robert married Hannah Evans.

Mary married a Mr. Porter.

Rebecca married Lewellyn Davis.

James married Elizabeth Lane.

James Shannon, my great-grandfather, was born 1743, died October 22, 1818. Elizabeth (Lane), wife of above, born 1753, died April 22, 1810. Elizabeth Lane was a daughter of Samuel and Rebecca (Hooper) Lane, and a granddaughter of Edward and Ann (Richardson) Lane, and a great-granddaughter of Wm. and Cecile (Love) Lane, of Bristol, England.

James and Elizabeth (Lane) Shannon had seven children: Samuel, John, William, Rebecca, Mary, Eliza or Elizabeth, and James.

Samuel married (1) Ann Conrad; (2) Elizabeth Harner.



John married (1) Martha Neeley; (2) Hannah Evans.

William married (1) Miss Hornsher; (2) Jane Shannon.

Rebecca married John McFarland.

Mary married Joseph Henry.

Elizabeth and James both died young.

Samuel was my grandfather and had eight children, as follows: Sarah, John H., James, Joseph, George, Ann, Rosanna and Samuel Lane.

Sarah married William Yerkes.

John R. married Sophia Rittenhouse.

James married Hannah Abrahams.

Joseph married (1) Wilhelmina Brown; (2) Elizabeth Conrad.

George married Arabella Steinmetz.

Ann unmarried.

Rosanna unmarried.

Samuel Lane unmarried.

John R. was my father. This ends the direct line of descent.

1. Gen: Robert Shannon, born 1667, died 1747.
2. Gen: John Shannon, born about 1721, died 1771.
3. Gen: James Shannon, born about 1743, died 1818.
4. Gen: Samuel Shannon, born about 1781, died 1858.
5. Gen: John R. Shannon, born about 1811, died 1848.

Now we come to the facts learned from different sources. In 1790, by different records, we find there were numerous Shannons scattered throughout Pennsylvania, though the name was not always spelled the same, frequently with one n. About forty families were listed at one time. Here and there we found a family who owned slaves, perhaps but one, and which at death were disposed of by will. This may be a surprise to some present. At different times I have received exceedingly interesting letters, asking for information about the family; one letter asked about the



Shannon and McCalla families—connected with the Shannon branch in Brooklyn, New York.

The inscription on the first page of the family Bible reads as follows:

“Samuel Shannon. His Book.

“Aug. 10, 1776. Bought this Bible in Phila. 27 yrs. after I left Ireland & I was born Jan. 29, 1718.”

This branch at least came from Ireland. Then followed the names of nine children with date of birth. An added note says:

“This Bible is in possession of a descendant, Robert Shannon, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who is preparing a genealogy of the family. This information was given me by Mr. Wm. Summers in 1903.”

I came across the McCalla family in other records. A John McCalla, of Bucks Co., Pa., came to Northumberland to live about 1790. One of his children named Sarah was born in Doylestown in 1760 and married a Robert Shannon. They had one daughter named Ann Shannon, born Dec. 20, 1788. Robert Shannon dying, the widow, Sarah, married Benjamin Patterson, a famous scout and guide when a road was built through the wilderness in the western part of Pennsylvania. The road led to Bath, (probably now Berkeley Springs, W. Va.).

Ann, the daughter of Robert and Sarah Shannon, married Ansell McCall, as her second husband. She died at Bath, aged ninety years.

Another interesting letter was from Robert (Shannon) Moore, of 7 Rhode Island Avenue, N. E., Washington D. C. He was sure we were connected because of the similarity of family names, as was Mr. John S. Shannon, Mayor of Alexandria, Ind., on the same ground. Perhaps on further search the latter may have changed his mind, as it has been several years and I hear nothing from him.

I was also much interested in letters from Mrs. C. F. Fendrick, of Mercersburg, Pa. She had visited in Norristown, Pa., on one occasion as the guest of the daughter of Prof. J. K. Gotwals, when he was superintendent of schools here. I really felt I knew all her





people, though they were not in my line of descent. Most of her relatives resided in Lancaster Co., Pa.

From other sources I learned of several prominent families of our name in Boston, Mass.; Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Oregon, Chester Co., Pa., and New York, including quite a list of army men. Speaking of army men, I have read several articles in the newspapers lately, written about a Colonel or Captain Shannon who served in the late war, being nicknamed "two-yard Shannon" because of seldom being farther away than two yards from the firing line. He was greatly loved by his men for his sterling qualities. I sent an invitation to him for last year's reunion—to Columbia, Pa.

In some of the records, mention is made of Agnes Shannon, born 1713, died in 1803, aged ninety years. This Agnes married James Curry. Lilly Shannon, wife of John, son of pioneer Robert, in her will gave £3 to sister Agnes Curry; it may mean sister, or sister-in-law, or even daughter of pioneer Robert, though no mention is made of her in his will.

A peculiar thing happens in some of the wills and deeds, about the word cousin, which seems to have been used for any relation, outside of brother or sister—according to the dictionary it may be true, but this makes it difficult to trace the real person wanted.

A descendant of Agnes Curry, named Elizabeth Hayes Smith, married Dr. Isaac Anderson, this making Mrs. Rinoehl Knipe and myself, so to speak, genealogically related.

From a New York newspaper clipping of recent date, I find a Mrs. Gertrude Shannon, of 121 Madison Ave., New York City, wife of J. Porter Shannon, who was having some trouble settling the estate of her mother, but had later compromised the claim of her nephew, Lieutenant James F. Dechert for \$125,000—as his share of the estate of his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah J. Flanagan, who died in Connecticut in 1906. Evidently there was much wealth in this family, but perhaps not from the Shannon side.



I recently heard, through Mrs. Fleming, of Jackson, Michigan, of Francis Bracken, of English descent, who was an early settler of West Jersey, having secured land there in 1633. A descendant of his named Thomas Bracken, in 1777, married as his second wife, Ann Shannon; and Martha, the oldest of his children by his first wife, married Samuel Shannon, a brother of his stepmother. They seem to be getting well mixed up. They were supposed to be from Lancaster County, Pa., and of Scotch Irish descent. Thomas Shannon and his wife Agnes (Eigness), also of Lancaster County, bespeaks Scotch descent. The Shannon family belonged to the Scottish "Clan Macdonald."

I have made no special mention of the different wills in my possession because of the tediousness of listening to dry facts about those in whom we are not directly interested. In reading some of the old documents, I found the usual disposition made of lands, properties, articles of furniture and clothing and personal trinkets, as we find in the wills of today. Naturally, individual expressions, showing some personal traits of the owners, were frequently in evidence; some amusing, some otherwise.

I have the following wills in my possession:

1771—John Shannon, son of emigrant Robert.

Robert Shannon, father of above John.

Lilly Shannon, wife of John.

Rebecca Lane.

Edmund Cartlidge, Sr.

Samuel Lane, son of Edward & Ann (R) Lane.

James Shannon, 1765.

Thomas Shannon, Feb. 1800.

Robert Shannon, of West Caln Township.

Robert E. Shannon, son of above Robert Shannon.

The last two seem to be of a different branch. Then there is the following deed which is interesting: By this deed the trustees of the then called "College Academy" or "Charitable School of Philadelphia," leased to Dr. Robert Shannon the tract of land which John Bull, Esq., granted to Wm. Smith, D. D., for the





yearly rent of 500 bus. winter wheat, and which land was later sold to John Stine and Benjamin Norris, by Dr. Robert Shannon and wife, Sarah, presumably for educational purposes.

Footnote.—It may be of interest to those who are concerned in following up Miss Shannon's data—that John Porter was the son of Robert and Lillieous Christy Porter, and that he married Mary Shannon, b. 1715, d. 1797, daughter of John and Lily Shannon; and their son, John Shannon, Jr., b. 1744, d. 1818, married Mary Lane, b. 1757, d. 1798; and their son Robert Lane Shannon, b. 1785, married Elizabeth Porter, daughter of Charles and Bathseba Elton Porter, and brother of the foregoing John Porter, and had issue—among other children—John Lane Shannon, who was b. in 1809.

Stephen Porter, a brother of the preceding John and Charles Porter and all sons of Robert Porter, the emigrant, is presumed to have married, first, Ann Shannon, whose paternity is not yet determined. She died early leaving two children—Stephen Porter, Jr., and Ann Porter, both died young. Stephen Porter m. second—Margaret McFarland and left children who intermarried with the Stinsons, Hamils, Krolls and other Montgomery county families.

See "Scotch-Irish Pioneers of the Schuylkill Valley," by S. Gordon Smyth. Ed.





WILLIAM SUMMERS



## EARLY PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NORRISTOWN

By WM. SUMMERS

The Public School System of Norristown started in 1836, in what was known as the Norristown Academy, originally a private, or so called, pay-school which was rented by the School Board. A few years later, in 1839, the board erected its first building for public school purposes at the corner of Church and Airy Streets.

The school lot adjoined St. John's Episcopal Church, and the school was on the same high grade as the church is today. The building was frame, two stories high, with one room on each floor. The upper story, used as the higher grade for girls, was in charge of Miss Eastburn. The lower floor, used for beginners, and commonly called the "A. B. C." room, was for both boys and girls; here in 1839, without permit or vaccination, I became a pupil by simply attending and being seated by the teacher—Miss Anna Davis. From this room in the Church and Airy Streets school the boys were promoted to a school at Mill and Lafayette Streets, this was strictly a boys' school. The latter was a two-story stone building, reported to have been built and used as a carriage and wheelwright shop. The lower grade was taught by Wm. Knight, who, at that time, had nearly 100 pupils seated at double desks. His advanced classes were sent to the upper room for some recitations. During the spelling class, the boys took positions along the wall, and a method known as skipping, by which the best speller moved to the head of the line, was in operation; other classes occupied the front seats at recitation time. Except in spelling, there was no class rank for the individual, as we received no averages for recitations, nor were there any term examinations, although we did have promotion periods when classes were advanced





at the discretion of the teacher. Carlo Green succeeded Wm. Knight as teacher of this room.

The Boys' High School of that day was the second story of this Mill and Lafayette Streets building. Entrance to this upper floor was obtained by means of a covered wooden stairway on the outside of the building. The room was furnished with single desks; when I attained this grade Mr. Pomeroy was the teacher; now the "Reader" displaced the old spelling book, and we made known to our friends our grade in school by stating we were in the 1st, 2nd or 3rd Reader as the case might be. One of the innovations of school-life found in this room was a paddle suspended at the entrance door; upon opposite sides of this paddle were painted the words "IN" and "OUT"; when a pupil desired to leave the room, he displayed the side marked "OUT" to the school room, and upon returning he reversed the paddle; but one absentee was permitted at a time; previously we had obtained permission for "going out" by raising the hand.

Later teachers who taught in this room while I attended were Mr. Robinson, Philip Cressman and Ephriam Acker.

In 1849 the School Board erected the Oak Street school, and at its completion, transferred the pupils of the Church and Airy Street school, and the Mill and Lafayette Street school to the new building. The Oak Street school was a three-story brick building with three rooms on a floor, each floor having an assembly and two class rooms. Asa James was the principal; Mr. Jones and Miss Voquette were his assistants, and had charge of the boys grammar department.

Another school I remember, but did not attend, was located on the west side of Green Street between Main and Penn Streets. There were three teachers there; I remember only the name of Miss Croll.

A teacher I remember, but cannot place, as I was not one of his pupils, was Wm. S. Abbott.

The school sessions from 1840 to 1850 were from 8.30 A. M. to 12 M. and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon;



and in winter months from 9 A. M. until 12 noon, and from 1.30 till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, with a recess of possibly 15 minutes for each session—when “the feet that, creeping slow to school, went storming out to play.” We also had school a half day on Saturday.

The general deportment of the scholars was good; occasionally the ruler helped to maintain the teacher's authority. The teachers were kind, and worked for the interests of the scholars, by giving extra instruction to the backward, before and after school hours. The days were filled with studies; no time was set apart for entertainment. Our only diversion from lessons was singing, the favorite song of the Mill Street boys was the old round “Scotland's Fires Are Burning,” which was sung with such vim that the rafters vibrated with the enthusiasm of the singers.

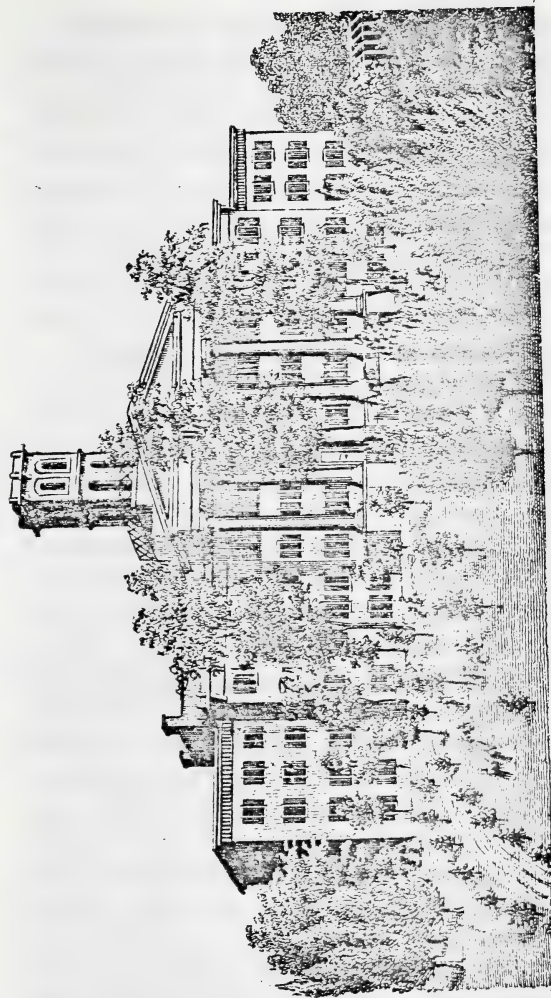
Among those who attended the Mill Street school, some attained more or less prominence: John F. Hartmanft—Colonel, Brigadier-General and Major-General in the Civil War. At the close of the war he was elected Auditor-General, and in 1873 inaugurated Governor of our State of Pennsylvania. Wm. Bolton—active in the Civil War, as a Captain, Colonel and finally Major-General. John Loch was a teacher at Treemount Seminary under the Rev. Samuel Aaron, and later becoming the proprietor and principal of the Seminary. Wesley Supplee—son of John Supplee (one time postmaster of Norristown), was exceptionally successful in the commission business in Philadelphia. Spang was an artist. Kugler became the head of the well known “Kugler Restaurant” in Philadelphia. Louis Wells removed to Washington to accept a government position. Iredell was son of Robert Iredell, the owner of The Norristown Herald and Free Press, now The Norristown Herald. To these may be added the names of Huston, Davis, Longaker, Harper, Gartly, Norton, Freedley, Adle, Christman, Hobart, Markley, Slemmer, Hahn, Slingluff, Charles and Theodore Jacobs, Charles and Evan Isett, also the writer, librarian of the Historical Society of Montgomery County.





"School days," for these, have long since gone; no more they'll shoot their "paper bullets at the master's time worn hat, the hook is gone on which it hung, the master sleepeth now, where school boy tricks can never cast a shadow o'er his brow; his pupils, too, are journeying down life's hills, and ruthless hands his school have scattered wide, though long as memory lives and tells its tale, will live the characters that started out"—from the Early Public Schools of Norristown.





OAKLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE



## OAKLAND FEMALE INSTITUTE

By CORA RALSTON EVANS

When my father, the Rev. James Grier Ralston, adopted teaching as a profession, it was not the career to which he had hoped to devote his life, but a second choice forced upon him by circumstances. As a man's life-work cannot be considered apart from the man himself, I shall give in this paper some facts regarding his parentage, his early training, and the influence that molded his character, created the ideals, and gave the view-point from which all his subsequent work was done.

James Grier Ralston was born December 28, 1815, in West Nantmeal Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and was descended from a long line of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His great-grandfather on his father's side,—John Ralston, by name,—took an active part in our Revolutionary struggle, and was a delegate to the Convention that met in 1774 to consult for the welfare of the Colonies. He was also for several years a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. His family came from Scotland. His maternal great-grandfather, John Grier,—was from Ballymony, in the North of Ireland, while his two great uncles—the Rev. Nathan, and the Rev. James Grier—were Presbyterian ministers,—while the third uncle, Joseph Grier, served as a Colonel in the war of 1812. His maternal grandfather, John Grier, was a farmer of substantial means, and bequeathed to his children an unblemished reputation. He had a large family,—one son, the Rev. John H. Grier, was, like so many of his kin, a Presbyterian minister; while another, Dr. Joseph F. Grier, was a physician. One of his daughters, Nancy Hayes Grier, became the wife of Samuel Ralston, April 30, 1811, and they were the parents of ten children, five sons and five daughters, and of these children, my





father was the third. As a little boy, he was sent to The Log School House, in West Nantmeal township. At the age of sixteen he entered the Academy at New London, Pa., and from there was sent to Hopewell Academy, where he remained until admitted to Washington College in 1833. Owing to poor health, he was obliged to leave college for a time, but returned, and completed the course and was graduated September 26, 1838. Two months later, he accepted a position as teacher in Grove Academy, Stubenville, Ohio, and finally, June 16, 1840, entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. When he completed his studies for the ministry, he immediately decided that he would devote himself to work among the Winnebago Indians, then on their reservation in Iowa, and left home for that post June 7, 1841. But on the way was seized with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs, and being assured by several physicians that he could live but a short time exposed to the rigors and hardships of the life he had chosen, he was induced to abandon the missionary plan entirely, and from that time, the greater part of his life was given to teaching. He supplied a church at Florence, Pa., for a time, with the understanding that he preach but once a week. Under this arrangement, his health improved steadily, and by October, 1841, he was able to accept the offer of a school at Oxford, Pa., that had been closed for some time, and was awaiting a principal.

As an instance of the trifles one remembers, when so much of value escapes, I recall a story he often told with keen relish, of one of the humors of his experience when teaching at the Academy at Stubenville. The food was notably poor, both as to quantity and quality, and aroused much dissatisfaction, not only among the boys, but with the teachers as well. It was the custom, that as each boy took his seat at the meager breakfast table, he answered to his name as the roll was called, by repeating a verse of scripture of his own selection. Among the pupils were two brothers of the name of Lyon, who later in life be-



came prominent, one of them becoming a Lieutenant Governor. As the boys were of infinite resource, on this particular morning, and facing a painfully lean breakfast, the elder one, when the name of "Walter Lyon" was called, promptly replied, "The young lions do lack and suffer hunger."

My father accepted the offer of the school at Oxford, and soon after, on the 11th of April, 1842, married at Stubenville, Ohio, Miss Mary Anderson Larimore, second daughter of David and Nancy Read Larimore, to whose wise counsels, patient industry, and scrupulous devotion to duty, he attributed, under Providence, his greatest successes in later years. He remained at Oxford as principal of the Seminary, for four years, when, with the strong conviction that his life-work lay in the school room, he decided to look for a larger field of usefulness, with the outcome that on the 4th of July, 1845, he bought with four acres of ground, on the eastern edge of Norristown, the small two-story stone residence of Judge J. Burd Wilson, and Oakland Female Institute opened her doors as a school.

The first sessions were held in a room 17x24 feet. Amply large, however, for the four pupils who formed the nucleus from which the school was to grow. During the first term, the number of pupils grew from 4 to 28. Eighteen of whom were boarders. During the second term, so many additional pupils had been enrolled, that it became necessary to build a substantial addition to the house. My father definitely decided, at that time, on plans for a much enlarged building. It was six years, however, before these plans were completed. The house was then 225 feet long, 42 wide, and four stories high, and contained 150 rooms, with an observatory elevated 100 feet from the first floor of the main building, and, having bought additional ground, the house now stood in the midst of almost eight acres. In 1860 a large brick gymnasium, with a laundry and sleeping apartments, were added. During the 35 years of its existence as a school, (with the





exception of three years—from 1874 to 1877, when owing to the ill health of my father, the school was temporarily discontinued) there were but four deaths among the resident pupils. A remarkable fact, when one remembers that hundreds of young girls had gathered within its walls, and that, at a time when modern sanitation, and the germ theory, with the protective serums, and inoculations,—with the exception of vaccination,—were unknown. This death record covers the entire period from 1845 to the end of the school year, June, 1881, when owing to the death of my father, the school, as Oakland Female Institute, virtually closed. The corps of instructors during that time numbered 190. They represented 33 states, as well as Germany, Holland, France, Greece, Peru, Cuba, Scotland and Canada. More than 3000 young women received their education wholly, or in part, at Oakland, coming from homes in nearly every state in the Union, as well as from Canada, South America, Great Britain, Cuba, Germany and Greece. Many of their number become missionaries, and were scattered over Hindustan, Africa, Japan, China and Mexico. Some devoted their lives to teaching the Indians; a number served as Home Missionaries on our western frontier.

I regret that fuller records have not been available of the Oakland pupils who were successful in the callings open to women at that time. Forty or fifty years ago, there were no public activities open to women apart from teaching, and to a few adventurous spirits,—the study of medicine. Women married, and moved perhaps, to distant homes, and their identity was lost in a new name, so that the impossibility of tracing hundreds of young women all over the United States, after even twenty-five years, would have been a formidable task. Of a few, however, we are able to speak. Of our townswomen, perhaps none gave themselves to a life of greater sacrifice than did Miss Margaret Craig, sister of Mr. William Craig, whose death we still mourn. Miss Craig was but a few months old, when her parents in October, 1837, with several other mis-



sionaries, sailed for India. After seven months of journeying by sea and land, they reached Calcutta, April, 1838. Mr. James Craig died in 1845, during an epidemic of small-pox, his heroic wife burying him with her own hands, even to digging his grave, as none of the natives would give her any assistance. Directly after the death of her husband, Mrs. Craig returned with her children to America, and in three weeks after landing, had opened a school by means of which she maintained her family. Miss Margaret Craig had always purposed to return to India, and in 1870 sailed for Bombay, being the first missionary sent out by the Woman's Board of Philadelphia. Her first work was in the Girls Orphanage at Lodiana. Later, she was appointed to Dehra, where she remained thirteen years. While at Dehra, her health failed, and she removed to Murree, there she died in September, 1883.

Miss Margaret Kinear, as Mrs. James Ballaugh, spent a number of years as a missionary in Japan. Miss Sarah Wigfall, of our own county, devoted her life to work in India; and Miss Mary Latta, as Mrs. Robert Nassau, was a successful missionary in Africa. Two other Oakland graduates died on the Western Coast of Africa. Three, beside Miss Craig, served as missionaries in India; and one young woman gave her life to work among the Choctaw Indians. In the earlier years of Oakland the young women supported a boy in a school on the Western Coast of Africa, and one or more girls in India. The name of Miss Mary Pollock, one of the early pupils of Oakland, will recall delightful memories to any of the older pupils who were so fortunate as to have known her. She attended Oakland first as a pupil, and then, after a tragedy had threatened to cloud her life, and she was looking for an absorbing occupation, as a teacher. This was at the beginning of the Civil War, and when the call came for volunteer nurses, since at that time there were no others, she immediately offered her services; was accepted, and served through all the horrors of hospital service as it then was, until the close of the





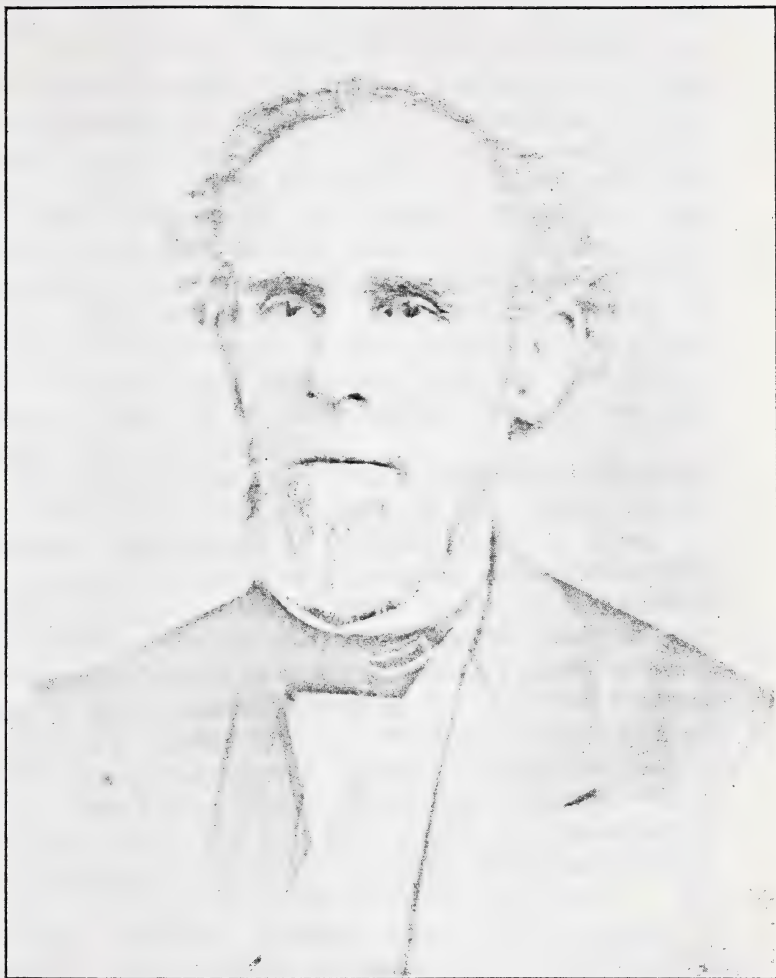
war. She lived to be nearly 90, but never grew old. Her frequent visits to my parents were always occasions of delight to us all; and the stories of her experience in crude hospitals and cruder open air shelters, with men with ghastly wounds, for which the only available dressings were applications of lard and gunpowder, with lint made by the women back home,—were most thrilling.

My father was an enthusiastic student. To him, study was a recreation. He never found anything uninteresting, or commonplace; a walk along a country road was not a walk, but an adventure, for were there not fresh interests at every step,—the rocks, the trees, the flowers, the birds. He had a keen interest in botany, which he kept up to the end of his life. In the ground of Oakland, with the exception of four large oaks, and two cedars, he planted the entire two hundred trees, wishing to make as full a collection as possible of our native trees and shrubs. His mind was of a decidedly scientific bent. He had gathered together a large amount of chemical, philosophical and astronomical apparatus, beside extensive collections of minerals and shells, and the stone, bronze and iron implements of our American Indians, beside large cabinets of United States, and foreign coin, and cut gems. During his enthusiastic study of mineralogy he discovered a new mineral, which later, was given his name by the scientists of the day, and is known as "Ralstonite." He was a member for many years of the Academy of Natural Science, in Philadelphia, and of the Numismatic Society, beside being a Fellow of several Antiquarian and Scientific societies, both in this country and abroad. The library, connected with the school numbered 2000 volumes, while my father had 3000 additional books in his private library.

His degree of Master of Arts he received from Washington College. In 1865, that of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Lafayette College; and in 1867, Doctor of Divinity was added by Jefferson College. It was characteristic of him, although not doing







REV. JAMES GRIER RALSTON, D. D., LL. D.  
Owner and Principal of Oakland Female Institute.



the active work of a pastor, never to forget that he had entered the ministry. He did not wish to lay aside the office nor the restraints it carried. For years, he preached every Sabbath, either to the pupils, or in some church, often of other denominations than his own. From an important record we learn that during his life he had preached 1308 times. For years he devoted every Sabbath afternoon either to preaching, or some helpful service in the jail, and was the recipient of many sad and tragic confidences. I have heard him say when speaking of his "church" at the jail, that when he preached, he was always sure the entire congregations would be present, since they, poor fellows—were unable to get away! He used to say that he could not have escaped being a Presbyterian minister, as the calling was hereditary with his Scotch-Irish ancestry, since 29 of his immediate forbears had preceded him in the pulpit.

My grandfather, Mr. David Larimore, and later, my uncle, Mr. John K. Ralston, had charge of the Business Department of Oakland, until its close.

Lectures on Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene were given during a period of years by Dr. T. S. Lambert, Dr. William Corson and Dr. Louis W. Read, a very progressive feature in a young woman's school 40 years ago. I will mention a few of the Oakland teachers and pupils, leaving it to any "Oakland Girls" who are present to let memory do the rest. Among the teachers none were better known than Miss Elizabeth Grier. She was one of the first four pupils, and immediately after graduation became one of the teachers, and continued to teach until the close of the school. Her habitual question,—“Ladies, what is the purpose of Logic?”—awakens very decided memories in the pupils who attended her classes. Miss Amelia Halsey, Miss Agnes Ralston, Miss Elizabeth Smead and Miss Ellen Buell, were among the earlier teachers. Then we find Mr. Marshall Talbot, the accomplished artist and portrait painter, who had lived much abroad, and had the honor of being the only foreigner ever made a citizen





of the little Republic of San Mareno, an honor bestowed during foreign residence. Mr. Francis A. Van der Weilen, a native of Holland, who afterward became the distinguished head of the Philadelphia School of Design. Miss Fannie Henry, who taught music for several years before becoming Mrs. John Hunsicker;—she was the mother of Miss Bessie Hunsicker and Mrs. William Stokes;—Miss A. Louisa Williams, whose genial spirit won her many friends, and who is remembered as Mrs. Richard Corson; Mrs. Penelope McLaurin, the sturdy Scotch lady, whose black snuff-box was always at hand, and who sought its refreshment on every occasion, with a dignity and thoroughness befitting her Highland ancestry. The name of Mr. Thomas O'Neill must not be overlooked among those who taught at Oakland. The Department of Music was in his hands, and he established a high standard, which under his instruction was maintained for many years. He removed to California after a short residence in Philadelphia, and died there, at the home of a daughter in Riverside, but a few years ago. Mr. John H. Neimeyer, who, after leaving Oakland—continued his studies abroad, and on his return, served for several years as an instructor at Yale College.

We must not fail to recall Mr. Schneider,—he of the brown wig, and the patient spirit,—who we all delighted to chasten. Many of the pupils of Oakland married men who became distinguished in various places and professions. Miss Sarah Sebring shared the honors of her husband, General J. F. Hartranft; Miss Caroline Cooke, sister of the late Mr. Walter Cooke, became the wife of General William Whipple, of the United States Army, and Miss Isabel Holmes, of St. Louis, married General N. P. Chipman, who was prominent in public life in Washington, during the administration of President Lincoln. Miss Adelaide Ann Worth, daughter of Governor Jonathan Worth, of Ashboro, North Carolina, married Major Wm. Henry Bagley, of Raleigh, N. C., and their son, Ensign Worth Bagley, U. S. N., was the first American officer killed in the



Spanish-American war, and their daughter is the wife of our former Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Josephus Daniels. We have records of others who married Governors, Judges, Senators, Physicians and Lawyers, but to enter into any detailed mention of them, would be impossible in a paper of moderate length. It has been suggested that there should be some mention made of a few occurrences at Oakland during the Civil War. After one of the battles in which the North was victorious,—I unfortunately do not know which one,—a public meeting was arranged at the Court House in celebration of the event, and my father, always afire with patriotism, announced a holiday, and took the resident pupils to the Court House to take part in the rejoicing. The crowd was large and enthusiastic, and after the celebration was over, my father returned with his flock to Oakland. That evening after dark, a noisy mob over-ran the Oakland grounds, and at the front door demanded from my father an explanation of the unfurling of a Southern flag at the Court House earlier in the day, "Was he a Southern sympathizer?" He had known nothing of the demonstration, but soon traced it to a pupil from Texas, whose zeal had exceeded her discretion. The excited crowd demanded that the young woman be brought out that she might be given a lesson in patriotism. My father told them they would have to take him first, for while he was in no way responsible for her folly, she was his guest, and that he would protect her if necessary with his life. But assured them that for the remainder of her stay at Oakland, she would have no opportunity to place, either the school or himself, in a position reflecting on their loyalty. After considerable parley, the council of the cooler heads prevailed, and the mob dispersed. In the meantime, a wild panic was taking place indoors. The cause of the outbreak, being in terror lest she and her friends be taken by the mob.

At this time, a large flag which was to fly from the flag-staff of the observatory, was being made by the pupils. The work was voluntary, and was done out of





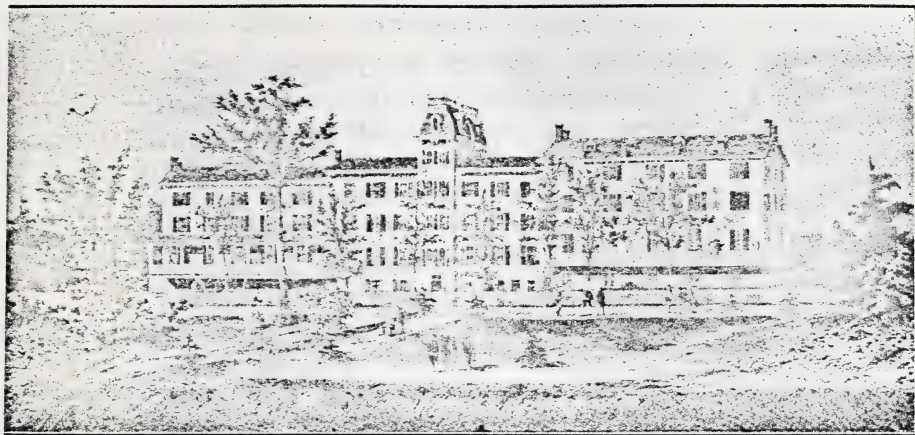
school hours, none of the Southern pupils had assisted with the work, but, after the episode of the Court House, they presented themselves in a body, eager to atone as best they could, for the indiscretion of one of their number. As a small child, one of the mysteries for which I could receive no explanation, were the visits my father received every now and then from colored men, always after dark, often on stormy nights. The callers came to a door near my father's study, where they were always taken warm food was brought, and the visitor left the way he came, quietly and quickly, having been seen, and served, by my father, or one of the family, only. Later, I learned that the mysterious visitors were on their way to Dr. Hiram Corson's, and to the safety to which he would direct them, as his home was one of the most active stations of the "Underground Railway."

I have purposely avoided making any mention of the pupils now living in Norristown. I would prefer to mention none, rather than to omit any. There are, however, some of the earlier pupils still here, as well as many who attended the school during its later years. Although the death of the principal, November 10, 1880, brought to a close the activities of Oakland Female Institute, we feel that the high standards of living, and the idealism there taught, do not know death.

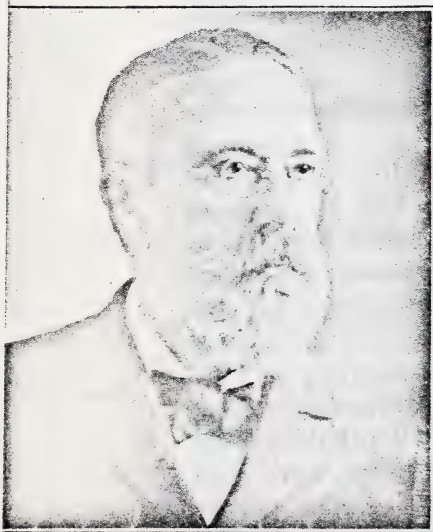
Mr. William Hussey leased the building in 1881, and conducted a school for two years, when the property was sold.







TREEMOUNT SEMINARY



JOHN W. LOCH, PH. D.



REV. SAMUEL AARON



## TREEMOUNT SEMINARY AND ITS PREDECESSORS

By S. GORDON SMYTH

The program of the day, and of the subsequent meeting, concerns the educational agencies which have sprung up in this locality from the date of the establishment of Montgomery County, and particularly, within the memory of those now here. And when I say Montgomery County I do not mean to limit the scope and influence of the local schools to our own former and present citizens, but more to emphasize the predominance of that element in the sum total of achievement of the institutions that thrived here and made this town a synonym for advanced academical learning, and were universal in their reputation and patronage.

The recent revival of interest in this subject has stimulated the memories, and awakened the pride and spirit of those of you, who, in your early days, were pupils of one or the other of the select schools that existed in this community, and which grew into famous educational institutions. Many of you will remember with veneration and affection such places, and the instructors of your youth, and will recall their characteristics as well as the experiences which you had, in common, in and with them. These, with the accomplishments they gave you and by which you were enabled to reach your present station in the world,—are the heritage of that period in life when you considered the Universe yours.

The purpose here is to present a brief, but altogether inadequate retrospect, that, in the main, relates to Treemount Seminary and its antecedents; and also give some consideration to its contemporaries and the earlier schools of the vicinity; but it still leaves very much to be said concerning them all.





It was hoped that, for this occasion, Mr. John W. Harry, the genial secretary of the Treemount Seminary Association, could be persuaded to give us an authoritative sketch in relation to Treemount, that would really interest if not amuse you, from the standpoint of his personal knowledge and experience as a student there in his early years, but Mr. Harry modestly declined, and with the request that I prepare a "paper" in his stead, offered such material as he has on the subject. With my acknowledgements to him and to Mr. S. Cameron Corson, of this borough, for similar courtesies, I submit the following to your attention.

It is given to but few such academical institutions to have made the phenomenal growth, progress, high reputation and material prosperity as has been deservedly bestowed upon Treemount Seminary when in the days of its greatest popularity, and under the successive principalships of Rev. Samuel Aaron and Dr. John W. Loch, it had reached eminent prestige as one of the leading classical preparatory schools in the country. It is commendable, then, that its alumni—realizing the importance of preserving its traditions, have but lately evidenced their pride in, and demonstrated their affection and veneration for, Treemount and its beloved, though departed masters. So there has been organized an Association among them that will draw into renewed fellowship, annually, some surviving remnant of the thousands of students who have passed through its portals and out upon the uncharted seas that lay beyond.

History has shown that among its alumni there was one aspirant for the Presidency of the United States; another, who was intimately associated with the high executive functions of the chief of the Southern Confederacy; several generals and lesser army officials; one or more governors of States of the Union; an archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church; scores of distinguished men in the professional, civic and commercial life of this and other countries, and a host of loyal American citizens everywhere whose standards of life



and potentialities for good and useful service, wherever they went,—were moulded and trained within yonder crumbling walls.

Treemount was the logical and physical development of conditions that had, for generations before,—given Norristown an enviable reputation among the schools of Pennsylvania. There were but few colleges in the early days of the last century, but private select schools and academies flourished in most of the thrifty communities of the State; and almost all of them provided a thorough classical and business education which appears, today, to have been more necessary then than now.

It was away back before the year 1803, that there was some sort of a superior school in this town. It is recorded that in that year the Rev. John Jones, a Presbyterian minister who is said to have established the first Presbyterian congregation here,—was its teacher. If these facts be true—then it may be said that the Jones' school was the forerunner of the Norristown Academy. It is a matter of record, also, that a meeting of citizens was held at the house of Elisha Evans on the 29th of January, 1803, and that General Andrew Porter was its chairman. It was called for the purpose of establishing an advanced school for the classical education of the youth of the community. A committee of three was at this time appointed to ascertain the practicability of building and sustaining such a school by subscription. The committee consisted of Gen. Francis Swaine, Levi Pawling and Seth Chapman. At a short time later the committee reported favorably; the Academy was decided upon; and subsequently built—partly by the proceeds from the sale of the old Jones school, supplemented by an appropriation of \$5,000 from the State; and an Act was passed, dated 29th of March, 1804, which vested corporate powers and control of the school in a board of thirteen trustees. Upon the completion of the structure, the Rev. John Jones was installed as its first principal.

The Academy stood on the hill at the then head of





DeKalb Street, on Airy Street,—now the site of the City Hall; and its grounds extended partly over the future projection of DeKalb street northward.

The Rev. Jones appears to have continued as principal until 1817; meanwhile looking after the spiritual and temporal interests, and expansion of the Presbyterian congregation which developed apace with the school. When Mr. Jones retired from the Academy he was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Barr, another Presbyterian pastor who, at the same time, supplied the pulpit of the neighboring congregation. Rev. Robert McClenachan became the successor of Mr. Barr, and he, in turn, was followed by Eliphat Roberts as principal; this was about 1825. It is said that Winfield Scott Hancock was one of his, the latter's,—pupils.

The attendance at the Academy had now grown so in numbers that an assistant was secured to help the principal with his duties. For this position a young divinity student named James C. Howe was chosen. There may have been other instructors at the Academy before this time but I never saw any account of them. Mr. Howe, nevertheless, was a popular teacher as well as preacher, and it was not long before he improved the advantages of his position by marrying Letitia Hamill, the eldest daughter of Robert Hamill, one of the original thirteen trustees of the Academy. This event took place about 1826; and about the same time Mr. Howe was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry. It will be of interest to add that Robert Hamill's family seemed to have been an attractive centre for matrimonially-inclined ministers inasmuch as another young Presbyterian clergyman, Charles William Nassau,—who was ordained in 1825—was then in charge of the congregations of Norristown, Norriton and Lower Providence,—married Hannah Hamill, the second daughter of Robert Hamill. It was this minister who, in 1849-50, was the distinguished president of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pa., and for the following twenty-five years conducted the Female Seminary at Lawrenceville, N. J. Dr. Nassau's son, Rev. Robert





Hamill Nassau, D. D., M. D., S. T. D., author, traveler and missionary, is with us this afternoon. Again I find that still another daughter of trustee Hamill, whose name was Elizabeth,—married a member of the faculty of the Academy,—Mr. Benjamin Davis, a son of Gen. and later Judge—John Davis, of Chester County, and grandson of John Morton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Moreover, it appears that the children of Robert and Isabel (Todd) Hamill were grandchildren of Colonel Andrew Todd, of the Trappe, a veteran officer of the war of the Revolution. Further investigation shows that all of Hamill's children either became ministers or teachers,—or married such.

The administration of Benjamin Davis, as principal of the Norristown Academy, was along in the "thirties" and continued until well toward the end of the Academy's existence. It was there, for twelve years prior to 1830, that the "Academy of Natural Science" held its meetings; and, as the school was probably the intellectual centre of the community,—it is more than likely that "The Franklinian Society" assembled at stated times; an organization of teachers meeting for "the purpose of disseminating knowledge in the most simple, expedient and rational methods; and for the better maintenance of brotherly affection among teachers of every denomination."

What more remained to be desired in the interests of unity and harmony?

In April, 1841, the Rev. Samuel Aaron, a native of Bucks County, and a minister, was called to the pastorate of the Baptist congregation here. At the time of his coming there was a private select-school for boys, located at the east end of town, about where St. Joseph's Protectory now stands,—over which Prof. Wm. A. Hough presided. Mr. Hough had previously filled a similar position as the head of the Loller Academy at Hatboro, Pa. Mr. Aaron soon became the master of the Hough school while at the same time giving rigid attention to his pastoral obligations to the Baptists. He conducted this school but a short time,



however, for in 1842 he was placed in charge of the Norristown Academy and under his management it very quickly gained high standing as a classical and preparatory school; and Aaron's reputation, as a pedagogue, founded upon his work at this school—has long outlived its material existence. It was during his regime that the local authorities negotiated the purchase of the Academy—for civic improvements, which contemplated the erection of a market house, and the extension of DeKalb Street to the borough limits. But Rev. Aaron remained its head-master until 1844 when the street was opened. "In 1849"—so the record states,—“the Academy was razed to the ground and not a trace now remains either of the old Academy or its famous play-ground of nearly an acre in extent.”

Thus we come to the time when Samuel Aaron relinquished his charge of that celebrated school to become the proprietor and master of a greater and more imposing institution,—The Treemount Seminary.

It should be stated, in passing, that contemporaneous with the Academy there were at least two boarding schools in Norristown. One of them was “A Select School for Young Ladies and Day Scholars” which was in existence in 1811, and under the management of Amelia Stokes; and another was a boarding school for “Young Ladies and Gentlemen”; the principal being Nathan Smith, who hailed from the Gulph; it was active in 1814.

Among the pupils of Jones at the Norristown Academy, in or about 1805—was David R. Porter, who was elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1839, and during Robert's incumbency, about 1840, Winfield Scott Hancock was a scholar at the Academy.

Another Norristown institution, a contemporary of Treemount, was the Oakland Female Seminary. This school was founded by the Rev. J. Grier Ralston, D. D., LL. D., who had bought the Burd Wilson property on the ridge at east end of town, in the summer of 1845, and on the 29th of October of that year, he opened it for the reception of pupils. It, too, had a successful





career,—for a generation at least—under its eminent principal, and who, in order to accommodate the constantly growing numbers of students,—was frequently obliged to increase its capacity by adding more buildings until the school had reached extensive proportions.

This school, which will probably be the subject of another “paper” at a future meeting,—was discontinued on the 14th of June, 1881; upon the death of Dr. Ralston, its founder, which occurred on the 10th of Nov. 1881.—this Seminary was permanently closed. It is said of it that “many of its former pupils became prominent educators, heads of institutions and missionaries.”

When Dr. John W. Loch founded the DeKalb Institute which stood on the east side of DeKalb Street, between Wood and Basin Streets, in the building now occupied by Messrs. R. C. Selden, H. H. Zimmerman and Joseph C. Coleman,—there was adjoining it a young ladies seminary known as the Adelpia Institute. This was established about 1857, and was conducted for some years under the management of the Misses Bush; it is now the residence of Ivins C. Walker.

A brief sketch of the personal history of the Rev. Samuel Aaron, prior to the founding the famous Seminary, will serve to give some light on the earlier career of the original master of Treemount. According to local records, Samuel Aaron is said to have been born in New Britain township, Bucks County, Pa., on the 19th October, 1800. His mother died when the boy was three years of age, and his father passed away three years later. The orphan was then taken by his uncle, Moses Aaron, and brought up on the latter's farm, receiving such elementary education as the district afforded until he was sixteen years of age, then he became a student of Rev. Uriah DuBois at the Doylestown Academy. At the age of twenty he entered as a scholar, and later became an instructor,—in John Gummere's Classical School, at Burlington, N. J. About this time he probably studied for the ministry. In 1824 he returned to Doylestown, married the daughter of his former preceptor, Miss Emilia DuBois,—and



succeeded to the charge of the academy at Doylestown. Subsequently he returned to Burlington as pastor of the Baptist church there and also became principal of the high school of that town; and he seems to have been so employed when called here, in 1841, by the Baptists, to be their pastor.

At the time of Mr. Aaron's coming to Norristown, a select-school for boys was then being conducted by Wm. A. Hough in the old Burd Wilson mansion on the site at a little time later occupied by Dr. Ralston's Female Seminary, but now known as the St. Joseph's Protectory.

Upon assuming charge of the Baptist Church, or very soon thereafter,—Mr. Aaron took over the Hough school and became its principal. This he managed but a short time before that property was sold; he was then placed in charge of the Norristown Academy and there he quickly established for himself and for it—a wide reputation for character and efficiency. The Academy, physically, stood in the way of Norristown's civic progression, and on its being purchased by the local authorities, Mr. Aaron was obliged to yield possession. In the meanwhile, recognizing that there was a wider field for his professional work, a growing list of applications for entrance of students and a constant expansion of the territory from where they came,—that he built, and occupied in 1844,—the west wing of his new school at Treemount. The east wing was added in 1858; and as the number of scholars became enlarged, he kept on erecting other dormitories. He now gave all his time to the school, and, in 14 years, he had succeeded in placing Treemount in the foremost rank of educational institutions; and then, overwhelmed by the wave of financial distress that suddenly swept over the country in 1858, the school had to be closed.

In 1859 Rev. Samuel Aaron removed to Mount Holly, N. J., and there, associated with his son Charles, they established the Mt. Holly Institute.

Mr. Aaron had some remarkably strong opinions which he did not hesitate to express on occasion, as





well as many commendable personal qualities. As an apostle of Temperance he was aggressive and relentless in his denunciation of its opponents. His views sometimes brought him into personal encounters with the enemies of reform. His vigorous advocacy of the abolition of slavery is well remembered and he lived to see its elimination in the emancipation of the bondman; and so in all lines of moral regeneration he was a zealous and determined partisan. He died 11th of April 1865, but the prestige of his sway over Treemount has outlived him; while the memorial of its first principal remains as fresh today, in the recollections of his living students, as if it were but yesterday that they took leave of him at the close of the school term.

Mr. S. Cameron Corson, of Norristown has in his possession a small book containing the original autographs of about 57 scholars who attended the Norristown Academy in 1844. The book opens with this inscription:

"I commenced school on the 19th February, 1814, F. D. Sower."

"Autographs of the students of the Norristown Academy, Rev. Samuel Aaron, principal."

The following names are written in it with an apt quotation, or motto, by the student, who also gives, in most instances, his home address and an occasional date.

Edwin T. Freedley,	Wm. H. Irick,
Chas. E. Aaron,	Vincenttown, N. J.
Lewis W. Read,	John Hancock,
William Goshen,	Wm. G. Smith,
Edwin Noviock,	Edward H. Stanton,
James A. Galt,	Henry Williams,
Davis Henderson,	Jacob W. Stauffer,
Samuel H. Emley,	John R. Campbell,
Daniel Gardiner,	John G. Smalley,
Wm. Francis Walters,	W. G. Rich,
David W. Jayne, Phila.	Henry Freedley,
Robert Woodward,	D. F. Ward,





Albert W. Fitzwater,  
 Wm. H. McCay,  
 Charles Ramey,  
 John Harris,  
 Samuel Thomas,  
 R. Moore,  
 Wm. E. Wells,  
 John L. King,  
 F. R. Thomas,  
 James R. Huddleston,  
 Curtis I. Gilbert,  
 A. S. Powell,  
 A. L. Boileau,  
 J. Sydney Cooke,  
 Henry Wattson,  
 David R. Breslin,  
 Stephen P. Hamill,

Zadock T. Galt,  
 Samuel Rossiter,  
 Jones Iredell,  
 F. Ralph Thomas,  
 Amos W. Bertolett,  
 Wm. H. Warne,  
 Samuel H. Detwiler,  
 John Stinson, Oct. 3d, 1844,  
 Henry S. Jacoby,  
 Wilmer W. Siter,  
 Samuel Thomas,  
 Robert S. Griffith,  
 Oct. 16th, 1844,  
 W. R. Polk,  
 B. F. Price,  
 Samuel H. Umsted,  
 Charles M. Henderson.

The original owner of this book is supposed to have been Franklin D. Sower, said to have been killed in the Civil War.

For the future development of Treemount there was one youth who was destined to play an important part in its history, who, in its opening year, began as a pupil under Rev. Samuel Aaron, then became a teacher on his staff and his vice-principal. This lad, in later years, became a man of striking personality, of vigorous intellectual power, and unique in his methods; who, by virtue of the force of circumstances finally succeeded Aaron, and became the principal of that famous school. This was John W. Loch.

Mr. Loch was born in Worcester township, Montgomery County, 12th December, 1830. After removing to Norristown he entered Treemount in 1844; was graduated from it in 1849; and for the next two years taught in the public schools of Norristown, Plymouth and New Providence townships. In 1851 he returned to Treemount as an instructor of mathematics, but in 1857, I am told, he left there and started a school for boys in the Humane Engine-house on Airy Street above DeKalb Street. A year's experience there in-



duced him to found, in 1858, the DeKalb Institute, a select-school for boys; a more ambitious undertaking for the young schoolmaster. This school was located on DeKalb Street, opposite the old water-basin. Here he laid the foundation of that magnificent reputation which followed him through all the succeeding years and continues to this day, an enduring memorial of his work, and of the love and respect his "boys" retain for him. It was there that many of those of the older generation around us received their best and final preparation for their serious battle with the world. I have been told that while conducting the Institute he had as many as 100 pupils under instruction there at one time.

It was but a year or two after Aaron had closed Treemount,—and it had been idle meanwhile,—that Dr. Loch secured, and transferred his school to it in April 1861.

The great success which attended his management, together with his growing fame as an educator of rare ability, not only brought to Treemount an ever increasing stream of students, but to him, personally, well merited tribute from two of the leading colleges. In 1868 the University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of A. M.; and Lafayette College, in 1872, conferred upon him the degree of a Doctor of Philosophy.

It was early evident that Treemount, as Aaron left it, was inadequate to meet the requirements, either in conveniences or accommodations, of its increasing clientele, so that Dr. Loch at various times was forced to improve the property. It was in 1872 that the central section, with the bell-tower—was reared, thus uniting the two wings of Aaron's era and so combined, gave it the present extensive dimensions. This building, erected on the ridge, on the right bank of the Schuylkill, and in the midst of ample grounds—has a commanding outlook over a landscape rich in historic interest; and, even then, teeming with agricultural and industrial activities. This omnipresent view, with the energetic life of the foreground,—was freely used by Dr. Loch in his teaching.





Dr. Loch had many qualities peculiarly fitting to his profession; he had, in fact, rare genius as a teacher, and many are the stories told of his odd methods in dealing with his scholars in imparting knowledge, and impressing the lessons upon their minds. A concrete estimate of his personality is thus summarized by one of his biographers,—“He was characterized by rare gifts of combined affability, gentleness and firmness, with an intuitive penetration of perception of character joined to an admirable self-control which eminently fitted him to impress and manage men while pursuing their studies.”

Under such happy auspices Dr. Loch continued at the head of Treemount until he closed it on January 17th, 1887.

During the 39 actual school-years of Treemount, covering the combined terms of Rev. Samuel Aaron and Dr. John W. Loch, there were nearly 5000 day and boarding scholars; the larger part of them came from local sections. But the universality of the student body is shown in the fact that 26 of the then 39 states of the Union were represented, with a scattering few from Canada. There were many students extending over the school years who came from Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Porto Rico, Brazil, Peru and Spain. The highest number of pupils at any one time was 234, in 1854; and the yearly average was about 127. The records for the years 1844 to 1847 are missing, else the number and average would have been higher. There was, also, an interregnum between the end of Aaron's regime and the beginning of Dr. Loch's tenure when the school was closed.

It would be unfair to this great student body to specially name those risen to prominence and influence in the passing years, for all of them were worthy members of society and became citizens of distinction in their respective communities; but there were those of outstanding eminence, really national characters,



who obtained at old Treemount, the foundation of their remarkable careers, and these facts may not be generally known that this institution had something to do with their success, so I will risk naming them, viz,—General Winfield Scott Hancock, and General John F. Hartranft, one a Presidential nominee and the other proposed for it in a national convention; Gen. John W. Schall; Surgeon-General Lewis W. Read; Stephen Y. McNair, secretary to Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy, and Arch-Bishop Thomas F. Kennedy, rector of the American College at Rome. Then, too, there were those who are still with us whose lives comprehend the span of years that Treemount was in existence. Those that we know of here are,—Mr. John J. Hughes and Mr. Joseph Fitzwater, both nonogenarians, and Gen. John W. Schall,—all seminarians in 1847-48. (Statement by S. Cameron Corson says that W. S. Hancock was a pupil at Treemount in 1844, and Joseph Fornance, Esq., in class of 1854-56.)

Among the faculty, either under Aaron or Loch, or both, at one time or another, were the following teachers; Robert Hamer, C. C. Henshaw, J. B. Hensch, Martin Levering, Edwin A. Ruch, Thomas H. Ervin, Miss Flora M. Loch, Samuel Delp, George Delp, Lewis H. Gause, Thomas H. Burnside, Jacob V. Gotwals, John W. Loch and Messrs. Richards, Neumyer, Lewis, Freas, Jacobs, Spang, Hurd, Springer, Libby, Howland, Wells, Smith, Aiman and Rev. Samuel Aaron. Generally five instructors, with the principal, constituted the teaching staff when the seminary was running to capacity.

It may well be conceived that in such a large institution as Treemount was, and having had some thousands of youth in training, that the survivors of them would have an affectionate regard for their old Alma Mater, and that some effort would be made, sooner or later, to preserve the memories and spirit of their school-days. So it has come about that a plan, originating with Mr. S. Cameron Corson, of this borough, was definitely started in 1913, to bring together as





many as possible of the former pupils of Treemount, including those who studied under Dr. Loch at the DeKalb Institute. But it was only after several years previous personal effort on Mr. Corson's part that the scheme reached consummation, through a newspaper advertisement, which invited all former students to meet at Mr. Corson's office at a fixed date. At that meeting there were about 30 persons present, and it was then determined to organize the alumni. Mr. S. Cameron Corson was elected temporary chairman, and the title the "Treemount Seminary Association" was adopted. Then the permanent officers were elected. Those gentlemen who were chosen as the first governing body were the men who ably supported the zeal of the promoter; all were animated with an untiring spirit; all laboring together in the hot nights in the summer of 1913 in going over the long list of students, and preparing for the initial reunion from which date the Association has since been successfully maintained. When the first reunion was held on the 22d of October, 1913, there were 177 of the former students in attendance whose class years covered almost all of the years of the seminary's existence. The original officers and executive committee were as follows:

Officers—President, S. Cameron Corson, 79-81; first vice-president, \*Elbridge McFarland, 62-63; second vice-president, John W. Harry, 63-64; third vice president, \*John H. Hampton, 64-65; fourth vice-president, Dr. Theodore Jacobs, 46-49; fifth vice-president, \*Wm. W. Potts, 48-50; secretary, Muscoe M. Gibson, 75; treasurer, Geo. H. Steinmetz, 70-74.

Executive Committee—Elbridge McFarland, 62-63, chairman; Freas Styer, 73-76; Chas. H. Shaw, 72-75; B. Frank Stritzinger, 82-83; Harry L. Sullivan, 64-65; Geo. M. Painter, 81-83; S. Cameron Corson, ex-officio, 79-81. \*Deceased.

At the second, or, 1914 reunion, there were an unusually large number of old students present. This gathering included the first Treemount scholar under Rev. Samuel Aaron,—Mr. J. Morgan Casselbury, of





Evansburg, since deceased; and the last one to matriculate under Dr. Loch was Mr. Randolph Wright. The present membership is 600.

Of anecdote, reminiscence and incident, there is a voluminous record of which I will not take the time to relate as there are, no doubt, many here who were either participants in, or spectators of—the numerous pranks played there; or they can give you a discourse on the more serious side of life and learning at Tree-mount.

Happy memories are being revived and ancient fellowships renewed at these annual gatherings. Their hearts again leap at the sound of the old bell that summons them, and which once hung in the tall tower above the dormitories; and deep down in the hearts of the “boys” is that strong feeling of love for their old masters, but yet are saddened at the sight of those old halls that are fast passing into decay and ruin.

I have included in this sketch a good review of some of the happenings—that have been collected by Mr. Peter Bolger,<sup>1</sup> a former student, and late of the Civil Service Commission, of Philadelphia, who has embalmed them in the two addresses delivered at the first, and recent reunions; also Mr. Irvin P. Knipe's<sup>2</sup> humorous welcome to the “Treemounters” on the 18th of October, 1919. At that meeting four grandsons of Dr. John Wanner Loch were elected honorary members of the Association; they are: Mr. John W. Larzelere, C. Townley Larzelere, Esq., Franklin L. Wright, Esq., and Mr. Spencer L. Jones.

I take personal interest in this subject from the fact that among the students of 1852-53 was George W. Bush, who was my boyhood's pastor—over in Newtown, Bucks County, from about 1866.

The present officers and executive committee elected in 1919 are as follows:

Officers—President, S. Cameron Corson, 79-81; first vice-president, Geo. M. Painter, 81-83; second vice-

1 See p. 382.

2 See p. 385.



president, Samuel Coates, 52-60; third vice-president, Samuel Yeakle; fourth vice-president, J. Greely Ellison; fifth vice-president, Wm. H. Roberts; recording secretary, John W. Harry, 62-63; financial secretary, Chas. H. Shaw, 72-75; treasurer, Geo. H. Steinmetz, 70-74; historian, J. Wilson Stone; marshal, Wm. E. Perry, 57-59.

Executive Committee—Geo. M. Painter, chairman, 81-83; Harry L. Sullivan; Samuel Coates, 52-60; T. J. Baker, 64-68; Geo. M. Weaver, 82-84; B. Frank Stritzinger, 82-83; W. Irvin Zimmerman, 69-70; Samuel Markle, 82-83; Wm. M. Abrahams, 82-83; Wm. M. Sullivan, 77-78.

### *The Association Song*

Should dear old Treemount be forgot  
Its Loch and Aaron too,  
And its old teachers who are not  
Now here to instruct you.

Stand hand to hand each student here,  
Give to each one good cheer,  
God bless you all and keep you well  
Until this time next year.

### *The Home of My Childhood*

"Home of my childhood, once again  
I'm by thy walls;  
The happy hours I've spent in thee,  
Fond memory now recalls.  
From room to room, I wander on,  
No sound falls on my ears;  
No merry laugh; no joyous tone;  
I hear no words of cheer.  
The sun shines brightly through the panes;  
Fair roses bloom as free,  
As when my mother, years ago,—  
Gathered their flowers for me.  
Her sweet-briar groweth by the porch,  
And creeps beneath the eaves,  
Its lovely perfume floats to me,





From flowers and dewy leaves.  
 My room, I find—is still unchanged,  
 And from its window wide,  
 I view again the landscape fair,  
 And watch the river glide.  
 'Twas here I dreamed some happy dreams,  
 Which faded long ago;  
 And built my castles in the air,  
 They, too, are lying low.  
 Those joyous hours, how swift they flew,  
 My heart was glad and gay,  
 Their memory lingers with me still,  
 Though years have passed away.  
 The brooklet ripples gaily by,  
 Bridged by the stones so gray,  
 My sister placed there years ago,  
 On a bright summer's day.  
 I tread alone the grass-grown paths,  
 My childish feet once pressed;  
 All those who walked beside me then,  
 Have entered into rest.  
 I close my eyes, and memory brings  
 The forms that were so dear;  
 I see again my Father's face,  
 My Mother's voice I hear.  
 My sisters gather round me now,  
 I look into their eyes,  
 And for an instant I forget  
 They dwell in Paradise.  
 The home I loved is vacant now;  
 No fires glow on its hearth;  
 That home, which was for years for me,  
 The dearest spot on earth.  
 Parents and sisters side by side,  
 Now rest beneath the sod,  
 With a sad heart and many tears,  
 I gave them back to God.  
 Above their graves the wild birds sing;  
 Fair blossoms come and go;  
 There Autumns strew their brightest leaves,



And falls the drifting snow.  
 But all unheeding they sleep on,  
 No stormy wind that blows;  
 No lightning flash; no thunder loud;  
 Can break their deep repose.  
 The ties that bind us to this earth,  
 One by one are riven,  
 May we who dwelt together here,  
 All meet again in Heav'n.

L. C. Aaron.

Louisa C., dau. of Rev. Samuel Aaron, printed in "The Mirror," Jan., 1893.

Mr. Bolger, at the reunion 22d Oct., 1913, said:

"A genius in teaching was Dr. Loch. In order to connect Treemount with the places of American Revolution history, it was hardly necessary to direct our attention even as far as the Brandywine, Paoli, Warren Tavern, Philadelphia, Fort Washington, Whitemarsh, the Skippack, Pennypackers' Mills, or the Germantown road, all of which famous places were near us. He needed only to call the boys to the windows of Treemount, overlooking the winding Schuylkill, to point out scenes of the events that determined the future of the country.

A little to the west, the Valley Forge hills; not quite so far to the southeast, Barren Hill, which Lafayette immortalized; A little southward from the Schuylkill, Gulph Mill which was guarded as a gateway to Valley Forge camp; a short stroll down the river, the hills at Matson's Ford, where part of the Continental forces passed over to the west side, but re-crossed and abandoned that way of reaching Valley Forge; and, at the very foot of Treemount—Swede's Ford, where the ragged and hungry soldiers of Washington crossed the Schuylkill on their painful tramp to their winter quarters.

If Treemount had Plymouth at its base, or rose from Lexington Green, or rested within view of Bunker Hill,—it would not have had an environment so inspiring as the historic hills and vales that lay spread around us while the magnetic Headmaster told us of the blood-marks made by the bare feet of the Continentals on the Manatawney road, or the way by the Gulph and the King-of-Prussia.

We meant no disrespect in calling him "Johnnie." Whether in analyzing a clause from "Paradise Lost," or guiding you through the mazes of cubic equation; or elucidating the ablate absolute, he would not let you drop it until you knew the why and the wherefore. You remember, on the blackboard, his vertical line for Compound Proportion, and his "Old Father Unity," the huge figure 1, to keep your mind on the principle of getting down to rock-bottom. He made you understand clearly why a rule did say what it said, and, therefore, you were not likely to forget the rule. He lectured you on "Hogarth's Line of Beauty" to make you good penmen. These helps banished our spectres.





TREMOUNT SEMINARY ASSOCIATION BANQUET, OCTOBER 22, 1913





No doubt the mechanicians of later years gratefully remembered Dr. Loch's cheerful rhymes and other memory bracers which thus clarified rules and fixed them in your mind, like his jingling rule for the mechanical powers, that "the power is to the weight as the small is to the great." When he swung so gracefully and inquiringly around from the blackboard and turned those raven whiskers and old-fashioned spectacles upon the class, we expected either a benignant beaming of his searching eyes if we were "catching on," or a majestic frown that made us quail if he saw that we were not half-trying. In either case the tall, lithe form loomed up, handsome, commanding, imposing, and the lads could not deny that they were proud of an instructor so manly and masterful.

He hated getting into a rut perfunctorily. Enthusiastic and optimistic, he inspired ambition. Not only from many States in the Union, but also from South America and the West Indies, the fame of the Aaron and Loch methods had won students to Treemont. I remember that I had a narrow escape from a Calleo, Peru, student whom a mischievous Brazilian had induced me, in my unsophisticatedness,—to address with two foreign words. When I learned that they meant "Peruvian monkey" I could comprehend the rage of the Spanish blood from the Inca's country, and the slight value which the plotting Portuguese from Brazil had set upon my life.

Loch had a sort of Jules Verne way of forshadowing inventions. He predicted fortunes to persons who would invent what later years knew as indelible pencils and fountain pens. The year that closed the career of Treemont, twenty years after my last term in the school,—were far ahead of "Wireless, and aeroplanes, and of the school climaxes of polar discoveries, but they saw something of the telephone and the phonograph. Pupils of the "eighties" informed me that Loch's vivid imagination was prompted by the bottled up embryo talking machine to recall Baron Munchausen's story of the postillion, who, in a winter drive, with the thermometer below zero, could not make his horn sound, because the severe cold froze up all his attempted tooting, and it just stayed inside the horn for the time being. But when the coaching party were regaling themselves in the tavern that evening, the postillion's bugle, which had been hanging over the fireplace,—thawed out and emitted the brazen braying which he had vainly tried to produce when the travelers were on their frosty journey.

Students in their second or third term detected a little sameness in some of Dr. Loch's jokes. But even these lads, as well as the fresh fellows—deemed it prudent to "laugh with counterfeited glee at all his jokes, for many a joke had he." He reminded you that "not every man could be a poet, any more than every sheep can be a go-at." He told of the physically diminutive and stooped Alexander Pope's snarling inquiry of "what is an interrogation point?" And the response, with finger pointed at Pope:—"A little crooked thing that asks a question." In every term, Dr. Loch recalled the fond father, who had written to him, that he wanted to install his promising son in Treemont Cemetery! In the cemetery, which adjoined the Seminary grounds, seated at noontime in the shade, "where heaved the turf in many a mouldering heap," the "day scholars" shared their little baskets of pie and jam with the tapewormy boarders who slandered Dr. Loch's man-of-all-work;



The good and kind "Old Jimmy" of the "sixties," and other subordinates, by alleging that they kept the boarding students on short rations or unpalatable messes. Another stock story was that of the shortest two business letters on record,—an order for coal and the reply; the whole correspondence, exclusive of the address and the signature,—consisting merely of two punctuation marks. The order was nothing but a semi-colon, (see-my-coal-on); the reply only a colon, (coal-on). Loch's spectacled twinkling eye and resonant baritone voice would, upon this, remind you that "a little nonsense now and then is relished by the best of men."

Method and value were in these diversions. In November, 1864, he polled us in a vote on Lincoln and McClellan for President of the United States. He called the roll:—Aaron, Baber, Baker, Bechler, Bisbing, Bolger, Bolton, etc. The "B's" in that year may have been a little different from this, but each student named his choice. I remembered how some of you, and I, voted, but I scarcely observe the secrecy of the ballot, and beg to be excused from telling. Teaching us love of home, as well as of country, Dr. Loch proudly likened Norristown to Rome, each on her seven hills; each on the left bank of her river, with the Eternal City's distance from the mouth of the Tiber the same as that from Ford street bridge to Girard Point.

How magnificently he read Macauley's "Lays of Ancient Rome!" Hear "the sinking and the swelling" of his sonorous elocution in reciting "Horatius at the Bridge," or "the molten golden notes" of that mellow bell; his majestic voice, quoting from Pope's "Messiah"—"Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem, rise; exalt thy towering head and lift thine eyes! Or hear him reading from the 60th chapter of Isaiah:—"Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the Glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!" Or telling us of the indebtedness of great orators to the Book of Job, with its sublime imagery; and then, himself, declaiming, "God's Rebuke to Job"—from "Zachos' Speaker" and laying special stress on the fierce pawing of the war-horse that "smelleth the battle afar off; the thunder of the captains, and the shouting." The famous teacher gloried in literary sublimities, but usually his work was in the practical sciences. Which of us ever knew his equal in teaching mathematics?

I do not recall that Dr. Loch had much to say about the Civil War while it was going on, or for a year or two afterward, although Norristown, Conshohocken and Montgomery County contributed more than the average share in brawn and brains, of privates and generals—for the Union. The Norristown general who commanded an army corps at Gettysburg, and was stricken down while holding the Union left centre at Bloody Angle against Pickett's immortal charge was carried to this town to recover from his wound, and he braced himself up in time to win new laurels at Spottsylvania and the Wilderness, in the following Spring. Perhaps I should not specify but one glorious hero when there were so many splendid soldiers from hereabouts. Probably Dr. Loch thought it sufficed to instill patriotism without going into details of the war at a time when not all of the fathers of the Treemount students viewed certain men and things as they would today if they still lived. A few months after the close of the war,





he piloted all of us to Valley Forge for an instructive, pleasurable day under his guidance. Without monument, marker, avenues, observatory or any other of the means supplied many years later by patriotic citizens and the State to facilitate study of the Revolutionary camp-ground,—our well-read and enthusiastic teacher and his staff of able instructors, supplied all that was wanting in their vivid narrative and description. How reverently Dr. Loch impressed the lads with the patience, fortitude and faith of Washington!

You cannot forget the great perceptor's original ways, his individuality, invention, impressive methods and resolute pushing of his plans. You think now of the whole roomful of students, in the morning, just after roll-call, led by him in the vowel-sounding chorus of "Long, short-short," of "ba, ba, ba; be, be, be; bi, bi, bi; bo, bo, bo; bu, bu, bu"; and further indicating vowel sounds. You remember the rousing song of "Fate, fat, fare, far, fast, fall, liar." If some fellow echoed "liar" with excessive prolongation and emphasis, the glance through the gleaming spectacles, over the long ebony beard, was awful. Not only from Dr. Loch, but also from another Treemont teacher, Mr. Jacob V. Gotwals—who is with us tonight, and whom some of us had the pleasure of accompanying this afternoon in the old class-room where once he ruled and taught with zealous ability and sympathy with the boys,—we received precious expert guidance in our studies, including our selections from "Zacho's American Speaker."

Dr. Loch, and, I think Mr. Gotwals also,—told of a supposition that Byron got the idea of writing "Darkness" from having heard Campbell express intention to write "The Last Man." Byron's gloomy, despairing lines were published ahead of the first appearance of Campbell's grand picture of faith and hope. Although both poems centre in the same subject, the extinguishment of the sun and the freezing up and destruction of this world, they differed from each other as day from night,—Campbell's majestic stanzas having a strong religious character, and concluding with these words of "The Last Man."

"Go, Sun, while Mercy bears me up,  
On Nature's awful waste,  
To drink this last and bitter cup  
Of grief that man shall taste.  
Go tell the night that hides thy face  
Thou saw'st the last of Adam's race,  
On Earth's sepulchral clod,  
The darkening Universe defy,  
To quench his immortality  
Or shake his trust in God."

Dr. Loch sympathized with Charles Mackey's criticism upon "Bobby Burns'" view of a man's being "A man for a that." On the public-lecture platform, if not in the school,—many of you may have heard our superb teacher read from Mackey:

"It comes to this, dear Bobby Burns,—  
The truth is old and a that;  
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,  
The man's the gold for a' that,  
And though you'd put the minted mark



On copper, brass and a' that,  
 The lie is gross, the cheat is plain,  
 And will not pass for a 'that.  
 'For a' that and a' that,  
 'Tis soul and heart and a' that  
 That makes the king a gentleman,  
 And not his crown and a' that,  
 And, man for man, if rich or poor,  
 The best is he, for a' that,  
 Who stands erect in self-respect  
 And acts the man for a' that."

Mr. Knipe referred facetiously to the changes in the town as well as in the seminary itself in the thirty years that have elapsed since its close.

"No longer do the classic shades resound with Latin conjugations: "Amo, Amas and amat"; these have been replaced by the wooing cooings—in mellifluous modern Italian, by the swains of Sandy Hill.

"Instead of seeing in fancy in caves on the hillside toward Schuylkill the mythical she-wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus, the more utilitarian nanny goat browses on what used to be the campus, and does her best to convert rubbish and debris into nourishing milk.

"The seminary itself is tumbling to lamentable ruin, but the fine spirit of Mr. Loch and the unquenchable enthusiasm of his admiring pupils continues to be effective, and are playing an important part in the affairs of the world.

"This association is the only one that harks back to Norristown as its old home, and comes back to the good, old town every year an old home gathering. The town has a right to feel proud of the Treemount 'boys,' and to welcome them with open arms, and to tell them that the town is theirs."

"When we, Treemounters, were holding our first reunion, six years ago, we talked, among many other reminiscences, about the 61 to 65 period and the mock Presidential vote that we took in the school, in November, 1864, on the question of continuing Lincoln in the Presidency or giving it to "Little Mac." Since we organized, in 1913, the world war has come and gone, and to son, grandsons and other kin of the students of Rev. Samuel Aaron and John Wanner Loch have done their full share to win the glory with which our country has come out of the tremendous conflict, and many of them are with us no more.

"Please indulge me to recall a few things on which we might test the memory of "Ben Bolt," tonight.

"The Treemount wash-room, which the mild forms of hazing done therein caused to be known as the "Initiation Hall," no longer boasts the big cauldron from which the boarders carried the hot water to their rooms for such baths as they devise in lack of the most approved methods of ablution. One day in the "sixties" a candidate for initiation was greeted with a chorus of:

"Fresh from the Southland cometh he  
 J. Woods Elliott from Tennessee."

The next comer to "ride the goat" was welcomed with

"We'll now install among the boys,  
 Daniel S. Edey, of Illinois."





And when big Julian Griffith came along he was overwhelmed with a yelling chorus of "My Maryland." So strenuous and discordant was this singing that "Old Jimmy" dropped his shovel in the orchard and hurried into "Initiation Hall" to see what was up. "Jimmy," man-of-all-work" to Dr. Loch, was a venerable, faithful soul. Physically bow-bent, bushy-headed, with shaggy, reddish whiskers, he was the only man privileged to enter the study hall, unannounced, while the school was in session, and shamble up to Dr. Loch, on the high platform whenever "Jimmy" thought such an interruption was necessary. Direct from his toil, outside, or in the Loch residence, his trousers in his boots, and often lacking his "jumper" and displaying his "galluses," that patriarchal servant, with his lips close to Loch's ear, would expeditiously whisper his business, and hobble back down the platform, a picturesque figure.

"When Loch's crop of pears and apples diminished on his trees, and he knew not how or why, and when, if aware of the fact, he might have discovered the fruit hidden in dormitory rooms to ripen, such domestic detective service as "Jimmy's" was valuable. It served a good purpose also when a certain Seminary cow was mysteriously despoiled of her milk, as if by witches, before her time to be milked. Some of the boarding scholars were as fond of fresh milk as of fruit newly plucked. It was a boarder's story, and I do not vouch for it, that the physical contour of that cow had none of the graceful curves of Loch's penmanship, and that she could hardly remember when she had been a heifer, and perhaps she was co-eval with the Seminary. Take also for what it may be worth the tradition that after fruitless efforts to discover where that cow's milk went, she became steak on the boarders' table.

"But some boarders would complain of quail-on-toast, or strawberries for breakfast in January. They could not appreciate the Friday breakfast menu of fried potatoes, twist and molasses, nor the Monday hash. Even to the Saturday dinner, with apple pie, they gave scant praise. Yet they were in physical condition for feats of strength, and were seldom, if ever, worsted in their strenuous conflicts with the pugnacious, winter student lads of the Sandy Hill public school.

"And those mighty, never-to-be-forgotten shouting exercises in vowel sounding choruses, in which the students were led by Dr. Loch, in almost stunning chanting! He had a powerful, but mellow and finely modulated voice, and was a forceful speaker and charming public reader.

"You remember the precision of the great teacher's enunciation when we were put through these, which I give as a few specimens:

"They wandered weary over wastes and deserts (waste, sand deserts)."

"That last still night (lasts till night)."

"His cry moved me (crime moved me)."

"Only think? I thrust three thousand thistles through the thick of my thumb."

Loch liked to show how fast he could rattle off, "Theophilus, the successful thistle-sifter, sifted a sieve of unsifted thistles, &c."

"In suiting the word to the action, Loch with his deep, resonant voice, made us imagine that we saw the muscles of





Ajax swelling under his heavy task, while our master slowly declaimed, with a pause after every word:—

"When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw, the lines, too, labor, and the words move slow."

"The valley region, of which there is a charming view from Treemount, was aptly styled by Dr. Loch, the theatre of the crises of the American Revolution. The hill from the brow of which the stately Seminary building overlooks the Schuylkill slopes to the point where Washington's shivering, half-starved little army crossed that stream on the dismal wintry way from Whitmarsh to Valley Forge. The Treemount view sweeps on the southwest the Gulph hills, where there was Revolutionary skirmishing, and the gap in those hills, at Gulph Mill, which Washington's men occupied as an outpost of the Valley Forge encampment. At the eastern end of this valley of the Revolution is Barren Hill, where Lafayette did his successful reconnoitering and outwitted the British.

"When Rev. Samuel Aaron first opened Treemount, in 1844, there were only three States of this Union west of the Mississippi river—Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana. Even east of the Father of Waters there were still three territories which had not yet become States, Florida, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

"Since Loch donned the mantle of Samuel Aaron in the first year of the Civil War, the landscape hereabouts, as the result of railroad extensions, mill building and other innovations, has so changed that it would now be unrecognizable at many points to the old-timer who has not kept watch upon the changes. The river lime-chutes which we used as swimming places have disappeared. We see no more the long teams of horses or mules hauling Montgomery's produce of iron ore to the furnaces which are not left even for the bats and owls, and we miss the "Gee, Whoa" of such expert whip-crackers as "Jackey" Stemple and "Mosey" Burns.

"Gone are countless landmarks, swimming "holes," favorite trees, Battle Hill, Black Horse, Matsunk, Mogeetown, Swedesburg, Plymouth Meeting, Whiskey Lane, and other hamlets near the lime quarries or iron-ore pits. One little picturesque lane which led from the rear of the Black-horse tavern to Plymouth public school on the hill, gave way long ago to the plow and its shade to the axe. The brook which the lane crossed runs murmuring as ever, but without the log which served, in the later "fifties" as a bridge to big-whiskered Master Silas Knipe and some of the "boys" now in the Treemount Association.

"It is a great pleasure, in these gatherings, to tell of Loch's powerful individuality and strikingly successful methods. 'Common Mother Wit' was a favorite phrase of his in lecturing the classes, whether they were analyzing a complex sentence in 'Goold Brown's Grammer'; wrestling with stunners from 'Farrar's 1000 Arithdre'; meeting the doctor's cross-questioning down stairs in the laboratory, where he used 'Well's Natural Philosophy' and 'Well's Principles of Chemistry' as text books; struggling with French, Latin or Greek; floundering in the cubics of 'Greenleaf's Algebra'; mastering phonics through 'Worcester's Dictionary'; or doing our finest from 'Zacho's American Speaker.'

"There seemed to be no limit to Dr. Loch's stock of stories. By nature dramatic, he could be tragedian and comedian, as



you pleased. I do not believe that any of you ever heard a better reader of Macauley's 'Lays of Ancient Rome' than Dr. Loch. Perhaps the imitation of that brilliantly, inventive and progressive school-master would be helpful to teachers who fail to make scholars comprehend the why and the wherefore of rules and principles, all of the members of his teaching staff were drawn into the practice of his ingenious methods. The historic environment of the Treemount Academy was used by him in patriotic exhortation. The impress of his noble character and manly example continued as an inspiration to wholesome thoughts and worthy attainments. So I hope that this Association will keep his memory green and come together now and then for the enjoyment that its members will get out of Auld Lang Syne."





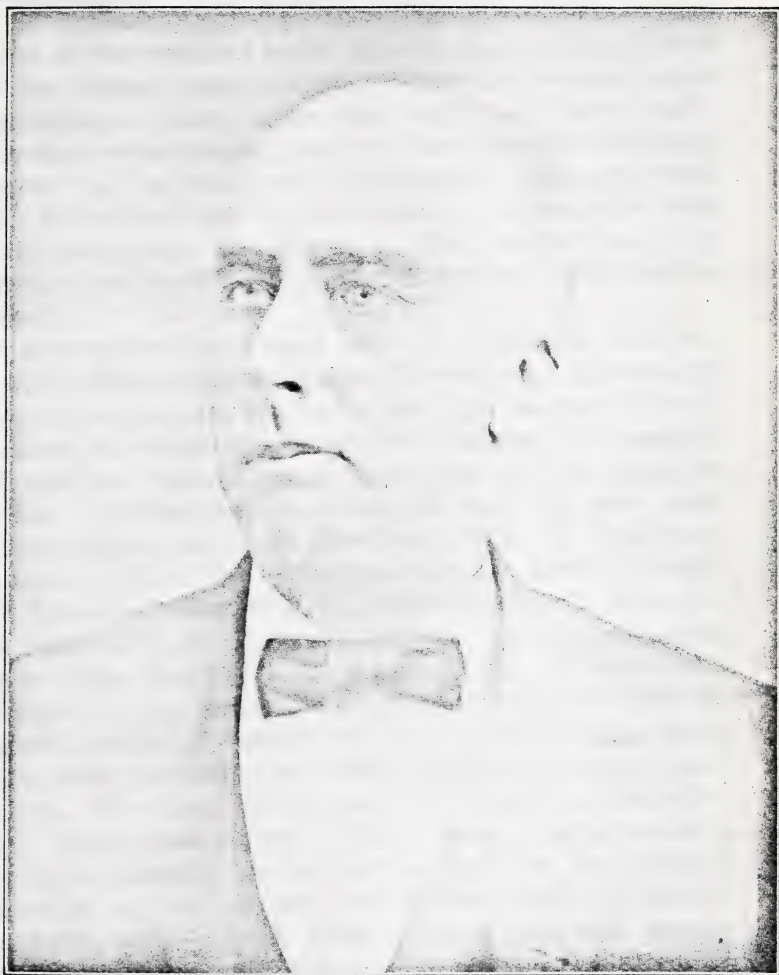
## COUNTRY SINGING SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

By SYLVESTER H. ORR

When and where singing schools originated is unknown. Among all nations and with most peoples music has had its charms and has "soothed many a savage breast," especially so with certain races and nationalities. Prominent among these are the Italians and Germans, from the latter have descended the Pennsylvania Germans who are found principally in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. What these people have accomplished in vocal and instrumental music can be but briefly stated in this article and will be confined to Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, Berks and Lehigh counties. No data is available to assist in the preparation of this article so that it will be incomplete.

Apparently no special effort was made to teach singing until after the public school system was established by an Act of Assembly in 1834. The pioneer music teachers undoubtedly lacked preparation for their work, but they did the best they could for their day, so that we all owe a debt of gratitude to them for what they accomplished. These teachers enthused their pupils who continued the work until the singing schools ceased, about 1890. A few lasted longer; about that time vocal music was beginning to be taught in the public schools where also the elements of music were taught—such as the staff, scale, notes, etc. The only known teacher of public singing classes today in the territory mentioned is Attorney Eli Fry Wismer, one of the younger members of the Norristown Bar. Mr. Wismer has taught at Yerkes, Gratersford, Trappe, Limerick Centre, Creamery, Collegeville, and now teaches one night per week in one of the Upper Provi-





SYLVESTER H. ORR



dence township public school-houses. In nearly all the churches of the territory mentioned, the choir leader holds weekly rehearsals but does not, as a rule, teach the elements of music and voice culture.

It appears that the pioneer singing teacher had four notes in the musical scale, fa, sol, la, me, which were of the shaped note system. Later the present scale consisting of eight notes was taught; in some localities these were shaped, but the shaped note feature was impractical and soon went into disuse. Singing schools had their best day before musical instruments were introduced into the homes. The teacher used his tuning fork in order to get the proper pitch for the start.

Among the books used were the Dulcimer, Cythera, Temple Harp, Golden Songs, Banner and Schmauck's Harmonie, the last two being used for German classes. Almost all selections were sacred music and consisted of many of the standard tunes used in our churches today. Among the composers of that day were such noted authors as I. B. Woodbury, Wm. B. Bradbury, Hubert P. Main, Rev. Robert Lowry, Dr. Lowell Mason, W. Howard Doane, Wm. G. Fisher, George F. Root, Ira D. Sankey, P. P. Bliss and others. No ragtime tunes were sung nor did such music exist. Pupils were taught to sing tenor, bass, alto or soprano, and received individual instruction until each division could sing their part when all sang together in perfect harmony. No fancy terms such as baritone, contralto, &c., were then known. While these singing schools were held mostly or perhaps entirely in the country districts yet the teachers had the best kind of material to work with—strong, husky, young men and women with good lungs and voices, developed in the country air, many of whom became splendid singers.

Singing schools were held in school houses, public halls, and in some few churches. School houses, with furniture then in use, were adapted for all kinds of gatherings as the desks and seats were arranged principally for grown persons. School furniture today is





arranged for the convenience of boys and girls of different sizes.

Among the pioneer teachers were Samuel Boyer, of Swamp; Martin Hunsberger, of East Coventry; David Trucksess, of Worcester; Milton and Aaron Bernd, of Goschenhoppen; Jacob and Mahlon Gerhard, of Frederick township, and probably others. Apparently, Mr. Boyer was the pioneer in the upper part of Montgomery county, who taught in Frederick Hall prior to the Public School System, and charged 25 cents per pupil for thirteen lessons, considered a quarter, or term. He also gave lessons on the melodeon and probably violin, and charged twelve cents per lesson. He was organist for Keelor's church and probably other churches.

Martin Hunsberger was a school teacher, apparently well qualified, and a strict disciplinarian. Mr. Hunsberger is well spoken of by his pupils still living; he began his career about 1857 and continued until about 1870; and taught extensively over a large territory from Chester county over into Montgomery county where he taught at Sumneytown, Greenlane, Zieglersville, Salfordville, Salford Mennonite Meeting House, Harleysville, Markleys, Skippack and probably other places. Many of his pupils developed into excellent singers and taught classes, also became choir leaders. John S. Apple, by trade a blacksmith, who lived at Kulpville, taught singing classes for many years, he was assisted by his daughter, Alma, who played the organ and sang soprano. Mr. Apple taught at Kulpville, Mainland, Harleysville, Franconia Square, Telford, Hatfield, Franconiaville, and other places. His schools were conducted mostly in halls connected with country hotels where large audiences assembled, and brought considerable revenue to the landlords. Unfortunately, young men spent their hard-earned cash at the bar of these hotels. During the latter part of Mr. Apple's career—for several years, he held annual reunions of his schools, but these reunions ceased so that his career ended over thirty years ago.



The Trucksess family, of near Fairview Village, were noted singers and general musicians since 1835, beginning with David Trucksess, who taught singing, led church choirs and gave instruction for a number of years. At one time he taught eight classes, averaging one hundred pupils. Besides this Mr. Trucksess was Justice of the Peace, also one of the first school directors of Worcester township, when the public school system was established. While leader of the choir of the Lower Providence Presbyterian church, he hauled there, every week, his melodeon which his son, Andrew, played. After the senior Trucksess relinquished the work Andrew continued as organist and choir leader until he had completed forty five years service, when he resigned. A daughter and grand daughter of Andrew Trucksess have been continued organist of this church, the present organist being Miss Ruth Trucksess. Four generations of one family have, therefore, conducted the musical activities of this famous church, covering a period of eighty years. Andrew Trucksess gave music lessons on all kinds of musical instruments from a Jew's harp to a brass band. His charges were \$25.00 for twelve lessons to a class, the larger the class, the smaller was the tuition per pupil. Undoubtedly, other teachers did as well as those mentioned, but I do not have the facts.

Among those in the upper end of Montgomery county who were more or less prominent as singing school teachers were H. E. Hartzell, H. W. Graul, J. M. Latshaw, Enos Moll, Edwin Moll, J. B. Grubb, A. A. Stauffer, C. A. Wismer, Isaac F. Kulp, H. W. Kratz, J. V. Bean, Aaron Weikel, Mahlon Brunner, Joseph G. Gotwals, I. D. Heebner, Wm. D. Heebner, Eli Vanfossen, A. Z. Kratz, H. D. Kulp, H. K. Keyser, J. B. Bergey, I. K. Moyer, Thomas Highley, Samuel Faust, Rev. Henry Rodenbaugh, of sainted memory, who, for many years, was pastor of the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church, instructed a number of classes in the rudiments of music and taught them to sing.

Around Franconia Square and Souderton among





the Mennonites, at different periods, taught Samuel Detweiler, L. M. Musselman, Jacob C. Allebach, Herman Godshall and others.

Lower Montgomery County was settled largely by members of the Society of Friends and other religious denominations who took little or no interest in singing as a part of public worship, these schools did not flourish.

Rev. J. D. Deitrich, Professors Zimmerman and Fields taught for a while in Lyceum Hall, Whitmarsh, and Joseph Wolfe, at Lancasterville, in same township. Amos Dungan, Oliver Ziegenfuss and Prof. Kendall taught in vicinity of Flourtown. Ex-Judge Hiram Hoover taught singing schools as early as 1840 in vicinity of Blue Bell, Whitmarsh and Norristown, having charge also of several church choirs. At Centre Square, as early as 1856, one Nicholas Schlough, superintendent of St. John's Lutheran Sunday school, organized a singing school among young people. While some portions of Chester County had singing schools yet in many portions they did not flourish. As previously stated, Martin Hunsberger, living in East Coventry, was one of the successful teachers, so also were John A. Reynolds, John S. Frederick, Lewis Laferty and Ex-Superintendent of Schools W. W. Woodruff, who earned \$2000.00 in that way before he became superintendent of schools of that county.

In Berks County, in different sections, singing schools were taught quite successfully. Among the teachers were Nathan Rohrbach, Henry M. Moyer, H. L. Reber, Benneville Green, Rev. Wickline, Saltzer Grimes, Jacob Warmkessel, George F. Brunner, F. H. Naftzinger, John Yocum, Israel Miller, John Zoeller, James W. Wagner and numerous choir leaders of the different churches throughout the county.

In Lehigh County singing schools were held mostly in conjunction with choir rehearsals, same would prove true in Northampton County adjoining Lehigh. Singing was largely in the German language, although there was also considerable singing done in English



language. Some of the teachers were so located that their work covered portions of Lehigh, Northampton and Bucks Counties. Among these teachers were: Thomas Weaver, public school teacher and author of the Weaver Note Book, Gottlieb Souder, Franklin Kuder, Franklin and Francis Schmoyer (brothers), Solomon Kline, Franklin G. Bernd, Erastus Rhoads, Jacob P. Geiger, Daniel H. Miller, Theodore Smythe, James B. Snyder, Jacob F. Diehl and Monroe Harwick.

In Upper Bucks County singing schools flourished for many years, especially in the townships of Hilltown, New Britain, Plumstead, Bedminster, Tinicum, Sellersville and a few other places.

Among the most prominent teachers was Leonard Leonard, who found his way into this locality from New York City, where he claimed to have been associated with Prof. Wm. B. Bradbury, a noted teacher and author. Mr. Leonard was very eccentric but understood music and how to teach the science. One of his weaknesses was that he spoke so much of his past career instead of confining himself to the lesson, wasting much of the lesson period in that way. Mr. Leonard taught at Bedminsterville, beginning about 1870 and continued several terms. At same time he had classes elsewhere so that early in seventies he had a very pleasant reunion of his pupils at Bedminsterville and probably other places. After Mr. Leonard quit some of his pupils kept up the classes at Bedminsterville and other places. Others who taught in the county were Jacob R. Krout, Abraham Frankenfield, Wm. Schoch, Richard Godshall, John L. Fields, Harvey Gehman, Harvey Shaddinger, Wm. H. Slotter, Isaac O. Moyer, Rev. Samuel Godshall, Aaron Leatherman, Abraham Moyer, Samuel N. Gross, Mahlon Swartz, Joseph Yoder, Abram Z. Stover and others. Prof. C. E. Leslie drilled classes in the county and held a public convention with his pupils at Sellersville, also similar gatherings were held elsewhere.

During epoch of the singing schools there existed a number of brass bands, some of the towns having bands





were Greenlane, Finland, Pennsburg, Sumneytown, Zieglerville, Lederach, Skippackville, Centre Point, Kulpsville and other towns. Most of these organizations have disbanded.

In these singing schools the young and old people were taught the elements of music and how to sing. In the early days there were no musical instruments, as stated before the teacher using his tuning fork to get the proper pitch when the singers of the different parts followed. The melodeon was the first musical instrument which found its way into some of the families. Later came the organ, which could be purchased at a very reasonable price. Today very many of the families have pianos. When these instruments came into use the private teacher followed who instructed the pupil in his home thus supplying instruction before obtained in the singing classes. The effects of these oral instructions were a fine community spirit enjoyed by old and young. It brought the young people together when they became properly acquainted with each other. In those days the young men on the farm generally had a trotter, top buggy, silver mounted harness, robe, and blankets so he could comfortably take his best girl out for a carriage ride and one of the objective points was the singing school so that it was no unusual occurrence for from a few to more than fifty teams at such an assemblage, coming generally from within a radius of ten miles. Acquaintances thus formed often resulted in happy marriages. In those days very few Sunday schools existed. Piano players, graphophones, and talking machines were unknown. Writing schools existed for a while. Among the teachers were H. R. Conard, Deputy Clerk of Courts at one time, and S. R. Shupe, of Evansburg.

Literary societies where the members prepared essays, dialogues, recitations, debates, &c., flourished for a while. These societies gave young people excellent opportunities to speak in public and take part in literary work.

Spelling and corn husking bees flourished for a





long time in the counties mentioned. Of late years farmers institutes, granges, and community lecture courses served to break the monotony of rural life, but all these have practically ceased without a successor, so that little remains to interest the youth, away from the town, except Sunday schools and churches—but in some localities services of this nature occur only every two weeks, affording little opportunity for social intercourse. The rising generation in rural sections is obliged to do manual labor during long days throughout the entire year, at comparatively low wages, while those employed in towns have short days, clean work and high wages with evenings open for all kinds of social entertainment. It requires but little reflection for an inquiring mind to understand why the country youths are constantly coming to towns. Statistics show 48 per cent. less farm help available in the country today than a year ago, so that there is little surprise that farmers are decreasing their productions instead of increasing them and thereby decreasing the high cost of living.



## ADDENDA TO ST. JAMES CHURCH. VOL. V.

### THE MORTUARY CHAPEL AT ST. JAMES' CEMETERY

By REV. CHAS. F. SCOFIELD

About six months ago there was a dilapidated old stone building standing on the corner of Germantown pike and the Evansburg road, in Evansburg, opposite St. James' church. The roof had fallen in and the walls were crumbling, yet the venerable relic was rich in historic association as one of the oldest school buildings in this section.

As early as 1732 the Rev. Alexander Howie, the Church of England minister to St. Thomas' church, Whitemarsh, and St. James' church, Perquahoma, as it was then called, wrote the missionary society in London that there was a flourishing parish school at Perquahoma with two masters who assisted him in the services, Sundays. The school, therefore, must have been started at an earlier date. About that time Edward Lane bequeathed to the church fifty acres of land and its work became permanent.

In 1792 we find the school referred to in a will devising certain property to the church, and from time to time the vestry made appropriations of money toward the support of the school. There is no record of the date when it was suspended.

The old building was then used for a Sunday school till the parish house was built in 1906. After that it was used as a printing office, during the rectorship of the Rev. F. P. Ballentine, who printed here his translation of the New Testament. Of late years the building had been used only as a tool house for the cemetery and rapidly fell into decay.

At the annual reunion, last June, the rector, the Rev. Charles F. Scofield, proposed a plan for restoring and enlarging this old building for use as a mor-





tuary chapel. In this plan provision was made for a community reading room and library to perpetuate the educational work for which the building was originally erected. This plan was enthusiastically approved and the members of the reunion committee pledged their utmost efforts to secure funds for the finishing of this library room.

The work of restoration is now happily completed, the building presenting a most attractive appearance. The original walls of the building were preserved on three sides and the same old wooden shutters are used. Small diamond paned casement windows give the structure a picturesque appearance. The roof is of asbestos shingles.

The interior is divided into three rooms, the sanctuary, the sacristy and the main assembly room. The sanctuary is beautifully paneled and decorated in rich tones, amber colored cathedral windows giving it a mellow light. The wood work is all in antique oak finish. Folding doors separate the sanctuary from the assembly room.

Over the altar is a wonderful, life-sized picture of the Christ, painted especially for the chapel by Mr. H. W. Decius. Underneath the chapel is a large receiving vault for use when weather conditions do not permit immediate interment.

When not required for use as the assembly room of the chapel the main room will be used as a library and reading room, and for lectures, radio programs, and the like. At one end there is a massive stone fireplace and the timber work paneling of the ceiling and the harmonious tints of the walls make a most pleasing combination. The old schoolmaster's desk and a number of benches have been preserved.

With most impressive ceremony the chapel was dedicated on New Year's day,—the Feast of the Circumcision. There was a celebration of the Holy Communion with addresses by the rector and by the Rev. Caleb Cresson, of St. Paul's church, Oaks, who participated in the services. C. F. S.



ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, CENTRE  
SQUARE, PA.—ADDENDA TO VOL. V.

By CLARA A. BECK

Referring to the article on "St. John's Lutheran Church at Centre Square, Whitpain township, Pa.—Volume V of the Sketches.

When writing the history of St. John's Lutheran Church at Centre Square, Pa., the vestry of the congregation kindly entrusted me with the old Church books containing the records of events pertaining to the development of the organization from its beginning in 1769 to the time of the celebration of the "Silver Jubilee" 125 years later.

From these records I chose for my story certain interesting and important facts relative to its history.

Separate and distinct from the congregational history ran the story of the organization of the Sunday school of the congregation; this was written in the books kept by the various men who held the secretarial office and these books did not come into my possession.

Reference was made but once in my history to the existence of a Sunday school in connection with the Church, and that was incidentally when speaking of the "singing school" organized by Nicholas Slough, then "superintendent of the Sunday school."

It seems that he was the first superintendent, but the history of the school would not be complete if ever written, without mention of another, *i. e.* Mr. Henry Moser, of Norriton township, whose long and faithful service as superintendent of St. John's Sunday school, extended over a period of 50 years.

Owing to the generosity of Irvin P. Knipe, Esq., I was permitted to compile the records of St. John's, which have been placed in the care of the Historical Society of



Montgomery County for safe keeping; might it not be well to add to these the History of St. John's sunday school containing the story of the old-time picnics with the old-time methods of entertainment and other interesting data in connection with its development.





## MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

December, 1920

### HONORARY MEMBERS

Honorary membership may be conferred upon any person by a three-fourths vote of the members present at the regular meetings. Ten have been so elected. Those marked with an \* are deceased:

Hon. Hampton L. Carson, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Alfred Dorr, Boston, Mass.

\*Col. Nathaniel Missimer Ellis, Pottstown, Pa.

Rev. J. S. Fry, D. D., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

\*Captain Gwynne R. Hancock, Portsmouth, N. H.

\*Edward Mathews, Lansdale, Pa.

Fred Perry Powers, Germantown, Phila., Pa.

Edgar J. Pershing, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Charles O. Pfeil, Memphis, Tenn.

\*Mrs. Sarah Slengluff Rex, Norristown, Pa.

### ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Any person not residing in the County of Montgomery, who by reason of his or her aid, service or contribution to the society may be elected an associate member, on receiving the vote of two-thirds of the members present at any meeting of the society.

William H. Richardson, Jersey City, N. J.

Jos. H. Smith, West Chester, Pa.

### LIFE MEMBERS

Life members of the Historical Society of Montgomery County are elected on payment of twenty-five dollars into its treasury, provided they be elected in the same manner as an active member.



Twenty-seven have been so elected. Names of deceased are marked with an asterisk\*.

\*Francis M. Brooke, Philadelphia, Pa.

\*Edwin Elsenhans, Norristown, Pa.

Joseph Fornance, Esq., Norristown, Pa.

Mrs. Ellen Knox Fornance, Norristown, Pa.

\*Samuel F. Jarrett, Jeffersonville, Pa.

Edwin C. Jellett, Germantown, Pa.

Horace C. Jones, Conshohocken, Pa.

\*Edwin Clinton Lee, Haverford, Pa.

Mrs. Annie McFarland Lukens, Conshohocken, Pa.

\*William McDermott, Norristown, Pa.

Walter Ross McShea, Esq., Atlantic City, N. J.

Dr. W. H. Reed, Jeffersonville, Pa.

Mrs. Annie Jarrett Reed, Jeffersonville, Pa.

Ellwood Roberts, Norristown, Pa.

Mrs. Ellwood Roberts, Norristown, Pa.

Howard C. Roberts, Norristown, Pa.

Alice Roberts Robinson, Atlantic City, N. J.

\*George Shannon, Norristown, Pa.

Chas. H. Shaw, Jeffersonville, Pa.

William Summers, Conshohocken, Pa.

Elizabeth Supplee, Norristown, Pa.

Miss Minerva Weinberger, Conshohocken, Pa.

Wm. Henry Wetherill, Philadelphia, Pa.

\*Mrs. Ellen M. White, Norristown, Pa.

\*Thomas Williams, Ogontz, Pa.

\*Morgan R. Wills, Norristown, Pa.

\*Mrs. Alan Wood, Jr., Conshohocken, Pa.





## ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Members of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Penna., are elected on receiving the votes of two-thirds of the members present at any meeting, and on payment of \$2.00 initiation fee, including dues for the first year. Annual dues are \$2.00.

\*Member deceased. †Member resigned.

### A

Alexander, Mrs. Howard, Norristown, Pa.  
 \*Ambler, Elizabeth M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Anders, Mrs. Amos S., R. F. D. No. 2, Norristown, Pa.  
 Anders, Daniel M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Anders, Dr. Warren Z., Trappe, Pa.  
 Arndt, John S., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Arthur, I. Warner, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 Ashmead, Miss Elizabeth M., Philadelphia, Pa.

### B

Barker, Chas. R., Lansdowne, Pa.  
 Barnes, Miss Nan., Norristown, Pa.  
 Barnsley, Miss Adella, Bethayres, Pa.  
 Bean, Howell E., Ashbourne, Pa.  
 Bean, Theodore Lane, Esq., Norristown, Pa.  
 Beck, Miss Clara A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Beeber, Rev. Thomas R., D. D., Norristown, Pa.  
 Beiler, John W., Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Bertolet, Benjamin, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Bertolet, Daniel H., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Bertolet, Walter B., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Beyer, Miss Emma C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Beyer, Wesley B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Blanck, Dr. Joseph E., Green Lane, Pa.  
 Block, Rev. Carl Morgan, Norristown, Pa.  
 Boorse, Miss M. Katherine, Norristown, Pa.  
 Boorse, Miss Susan A., Norristown, Pa.

Borneman, Henry S., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Botsford, Marshall E., R. D. No. 3, Norristown, Pa.  
 Bowman, Gen. Wendall P., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Boyd, Mrs. Howard, Norristown, Pa.  
 Boyer, Miss Ella, Norristown, Pa.  
 Boyer, J. Frank, Norristown, Pa.  
 Boyer, Louis B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Brady, Harman Y., Willow Grove, Pa.  
 Branson, Thomas F., Rosemont, Pa.  
 Bray, Chas. W., Bridgeport, Pa., R. D. 1.  
 Brecht, George K., Norristown, Pa.  
 Brecht, Mrs. George K., Norristown, Pa.  
 Brecht, Samuel R., Upper Darby, Pa.  
 Brecht, Mrs. Sarah K., Norristown, Pa.  
 Bromer, Jacob A., Schwenksville, Pa.  
 Bromer, Mrs. Jacob A., Schwenksville, Pa.  
 Brooke, Maj.-Gen. John R., Rosemont, Pa.  
 Brown, Mrs. N. Howland, Norristown, Pa.  
 Brownback, Henry M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Brumbaugh, Mrs. G. Edwin, Gwynedd, Pa.  
 Buchanan, Mrs. A. S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Buckenham, Dr. J. E. Burnett, Chestnut Hill, Pa.  
 Buckman, Mrs. Mary Ann, Norristown, Pa.  
 Burgin, Dr. Herman, Germantown, Pa.



Burk, Rev. W. Herbert, D. D.,  
Valley Forge, Pa.  
Bussa, H. K., Norristown, Pa.

## C

Carr, Rev. Francis L., Norristown, Pa.  
Carvalho, Mrs. I. N., Norristown, Pa.  
Cassel, Mrs. James, Centre Square, Pa.  
Chain, B. Percy, Norristown, Pa.  
Chandler, George A., Bethlehem, Pa.  
Childs, Miss Lillian, Norristown, Pa.  
Childs, Louis M., Norristown, Pa.  
Clamer, F. J. Collegeville, Pa.  
Clark, James Harrison, Cynwyd, Pa.  
Clark, Mrs. James Harrison, Cynwyd, Pa.  
\*Clift, Mrs. W. M., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Cloud, Charles F., Norristown, Pa.  
Conard, Mrs. Irene D. S., Norristown, Pa.  
Cook, George J., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Cornish, Dr. S. D., Collegeville, Pa.  
Corson, George, Plymouth Meeting, Pa.  
Corson, Mrs. George, Plymouth Meeting, Pa.  
Corson, Miss Katherine C., Norristown, Pa.  
Corson, S. Cameron, Norristown, Pa.  
Corson, Walter H., Plymouth Meeting, Pa.  
Cranor, Mrs. Henry D., Conshohocken, Pa.  
Crawford, Miss Anna M., Norristown, Pa.  
Crawford, Miss Frances E., Norristown, Pa.  
Crawford, J. Craig, Norristown, Pa.  
Cresson, Francis Macomb, Ardmore, Pa.  
Cresson, Mrs. Francis Macomb, Ardmore, Pa.  
Cresson, Miss Mary L., Norristown, Pa.  
Cresson, Nancy Corson, Norristown, Pa.  
Cresson, Mrs. Tacy F., Norristown, Pa.  
Croasdale, Mrs. Anna L., Norristown, Pa.

Cunningham, W. P., Norristown, Pa.

## D

Dambly, B. Witman, Skippack, Pa.  
Danehower, H. B., Norristown, Pa.  
Davis, Miss Ella S., Conshohocken, Pa.  
Davis, Miss Ida, Conshohocken, Pa.  
Davis, Reese P., Conshohocken, Pa.  
Davis, Mrs. Reese P., Conshohocken, Pa.  
Davis, William S., Conshohocken, Pa.  
†DeCaindry, Mrs. William, Washington, D. C.  
Dettra, John M., Norristown, Pa.  
Develin, Mrs. John F., Bala, Pa.  
†Dickerson, Wm. S., Cold Point, Pa.  
Dieterick, Mrs. Elizabeth H., Zeiglerville, Pa.  
†Dixon, William F., Roxborough, Phila., Pa.  
Duff, John, Phoenixville, Pa.

## E

Eastwick, Abram T., Norristown, Pa.  
Eavenson, Francis V., Oaks, Pa.  
Pa.  
Eckfeldt, Fred. W., Norristown, Pa.  
Eckfeldt, Mrs. Fred. W., Norristown, Pa.  
Eckfeldt, Jacob B., Ambler, Pa.  
Eckfeldt, Mrs. Jacob B., Ambler, Pa.  
Eisenberg, Dr. P. Y., Norristown, Pa.  
Ellis, David M., Bridgeport, Pa.  
Ellis, Mrs. David M., Bridgeport, Pa.  
Ervien, Mrs. J. Horace, Wyncote, Pa.  
Evans, Benjamin F., Norristown, Pa.  
Evans, Mrs. Benjamin F., Norristown, Pa.  
Evans, Mrs. Henry L., Norristown, Pa.  
Evans, Joseph S., Gwynedd Valley, Pa.  
Evans, Rev. L. K., Pottstown, Pa.  
Evans, Montgomery, Norristown, Pa.



## F

Farnum, Mrs. Mary C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Farrell, Miss Laura F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Fell, Miss M. Bertha, Norristown, Pa.  
 Fell, Percy J., Norristown, Pa.  
 Fisher, Mrs. H. H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Fisher, Irvin, Norristown, Pa.  
 Fisher, Mrs. Irvin, Norristown, Pa.  
 Fitzwater, Miss Ada, Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Fitzwater, Joseph, Port Providence, Pa.  
 †Finn, W. W., Norristown, Pa.  
 †Finn, Mrs. W. W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Fluke, Mrs. J. E., Woodside, Del.  
 Fox, Miss Frances M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Francis, Mrs. H. H., Ambler, Pa.  
 †Francis, Rev. J. G., Lebanon, Pa.  
 Freese, John T., Atlantic City, N. J.  
 \*Fridy, Samuel H., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Fronefield, Mrs. A. E., Norristown, Pa.  
 Fry, Miss Sarah E., Belfry, Pa.  
 Fulmer, Mrs. R. K., Norristown, Pa.

## G

Ganser, Herbert H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Ganser, Malcolm H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Garner, Miss Gertrude, Norristown, Pa.  
 Gearhart, Wm. M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gearhart, Mrs. Wm. M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gehret, John H., Bridgeport, Pa.  
 Gerhard, Miss Hannah, Norristown, Pa.  
 Gerhard, Marvin S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gibson, M. M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gilbert, Dr. Irvin B., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Gottschall, Rev. Robert J., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gotwals, Amos G., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Gotwals, Elias D., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gotwals, Mrs. Elias D., Norristown, Pa.  
 Gougler, B. F., Norristown, Pa.

\*Grater, Abram G., Norristown, Pa.

Gresh, Harold, Norristown, Pa.  
 Gresh, Mrs. H. C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Groton, Rev. N. B., Whitmarsh, Pa.  
 Gummey, Rev. Henry R., Downingtown, Pa.

## H

Hallman, Linwood L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hallman, Thomas, Collegeville, Pa.  
 Hallowell, Mrs. Hetty Y., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Harper, William Warner, Chestnut Hill, Pa.  
 Harry, A. Markley, Norristown, Pa.  
 Harry, Miss Bertha S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Harry, Mrs. John W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hartman, Dr. George Feters, Port Kennedy, Pa.  
 Hartranft, Samuel S., Valley Forge, Pa.  
 Hartranft, Mrs. Samuel S., Valley Forge, Pa.  
 Hathaway, Rev. St. Clair, Norristown, Pa.  
 Heller, Eva E., Royersford, Pa.  
 Henricks, Mark Y., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Heysham, Rev. Theodore, Norristown, Pa.  
 Hibbs, Miss Mary M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hickey, Susanna G., Washington, D. C.  
 Highley, Dr. George N., Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Highley, Mrs. George N., Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Highley, Miss Nancy Pawling, Norristown, Pa.  
 Hocker, Edward W., Germantown, Pa.  
 Hoffman, Miss Joanna, Norristown, Pa.  
 Hooven, Miss Emeline Henry, Norristown, Pa.  
 Horn, Dr. David Wilbur, Brynmawr, Pa.  
 Horner, Mrs. C. M., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Hovenden, Mrs. Thomas, Plymouth Meeting, Pa.





Huber, Mrs. Francis C., Norristown, Pa.  
 \*Hughes, John J., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hunsberger, Dr. J. N., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hunsicker, Mrs. Charles, Norristown, Pa.  
 Hunsicker, Clifton S., Norristown, Pa.  
 \*Hunsicker, Mrs. Clifton S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Hunsicker, Miss Susan M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Huston, Miss Elizabeth, Norristown, Pa.

## I

Isett, William H., Norristown, Pa.

## J

Jacoby, Miss Susanna M., Norristown, Pa.  
 James, Mrs. Walter M., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Jarrett, Charles L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Jarrett, Mrs. Charles L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Jarrett, John H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Jenkins, E. Wheeler, Mt. Airy, Pa.  
 Jenkins, Herbert G., Gwynedd, Pa.  
 Jenkins, J. P. Hale, Norristown, Pa.  
 Johnson, Rev. Elmer E. S., Hereford, Pa.  
 Johnson, Mrs. George M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Jones, A. Conrad, Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Jones, Mrs. A. Conrad, Conshohocken, Pa.  
 \*Jones, Joseph C., Conshohocken, Pa.

## K

Kauffman, John R., Sunbury, Pa.  
 Kepner, Sidney R., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Keys, Mrs. Emma, Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Kershaw, Isaac, Cynwyd, Pa.  
 Kirkbride, Mrs. Henry C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kite, George R., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kite, Mrs. George R., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kistler, Rev. William U., Pottstown, Pa.

Kline, Rev. J. J., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Knipe, Irvin P., Norristown, Pa.  
 Knipe, Mrs. Irvin P., Norristown, Pa.  
 Knipe, Dr. Reinoehl, Norristown, Pa.  
 Knipe, Mrs. Reinoehl, Norristown, Pa.  
 Kratz, Miss A. May, Norristown, Pa.  
 Kratz, Mrs. Harry J., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kratz, Lyman A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kratz, Mrs. Lyman A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kriebel, Miss Agnes, Norristown, Pa.  
 Kriebel, Dr. O. S., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Kriebel, Mrs. O. S., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Krusen, Dr. E. A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Krusen, Mrs. E. A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Krusen, Dr. Francis T., Norristown, Pa.  
 Krusen, Mrs. Francis T., Norristown, Pa.  
 Kulp, H. S., Norristown, Pa.

## L

Landis, J. Horace, Norristown, Pa.  
 Landis, James N., Germantown, Pa.  
 Larzelere, N. H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Lessig, Othniel B., Pottstown, Pa.  
 Lloyd, Mrs. Anna B., Lansdale, Pa.  
 Longacre, Emma S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Longstreth, Howard, Haverford, Pa.  
 Lukens, Mrs. Jawood, Conshohocken, Pa.

## M

MacDowell, Mrs. Theodore, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Major, Miss Anita, Norristown, Pa.  
 Major, Charles, Norristown, Pa.  
 Major, Mrs. Charles, Norristown, Pa.  
 Mann, Charles S., Maple Glen, Pa.  
 March, M. L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Marple, Mary, Norristown, Pa.  
 Martin, Prof. A. S., Norristown, Pa.



†McClintock, William C., Ardmore, Pa.  
 McFarland, Mrs. Elbridge, Norristown, Pa.  
 McGinnis, Mrs. James, Norristown, Pa.  
 McGlathery, Miss Sarah, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 McInnes, Miss Martha H., Norristown Pa.  
 McInnes, Miss Mary T., Norristown, Pa.  
 †McIntosh, Rev. A. B., Norristown, Pa.  
 McLaughlin, John J., Jr., Bridgeport, Pa.  
 McMurtrie, Mrs. Minnie B., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 McShea, Mrs. Stewart R., Norristown, Pa.  
 Miller, Miss Jane, Norristown, Pa.  
 Miller, Hon. John Faber, Norristown, Pa.  
 Miller, Mrs. John Faber, Norristown, Pa.  
 Miller, Robert C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Miller, Dr. William G., Norristown, Pa.  
 Minnich, Rev. Michael Reed, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Montague, William E., Norristown, Pa.  
 Moore, Anna M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Moore, Mrs. Frank B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Morris, Charles E., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Morris, W. Norman, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 †Moyer, Mrs. Isaac R., Norristown, Pa.  
 Murray, Mrs. Clara S., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Myers, Charles A., Bridgeport, Pa.

## N

Nassau, Rev. Robert H., Ambler, Pa.  
 Niblo, Rev. James M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Noble, Mrs. John, Norristown, Pa.  
 Novioch, Horace C., Philadelphia, Pa.

## O

O'Brien, Miss Alice, Norristown, Pa.

Orr, Sylvester, H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Orr, Mrs. Sylvester H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Overholtzer, John H., Norristown, Pa.

## P

Parsons, Luther C., Cynwyd, Pa.  
 Patterson, Mrs. Joseph G., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Payne, Henry C., Norristown, Pa.  
 †Phillips, Edward W., Norristown, Pa.  
 †Phillips, Mrs. Edward W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Pierce, Harold, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 †Pitcairn, Raymond, Bryn Athyn, Pa.  
 Place, Dr. B. F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Plummer, Harvey S., Fairview Village, Pa.  
 Plummer, Mrs. Harvey S., Fairview Village, Pa.  
 Poley, George W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Potter, Miss Margaret, Norristown, Pa.  
 Potts, Mrs. William W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Powell, Miss Ada., Norristown, Pa.  
 Preston, Miss Katharine, Norristown, Pa.  
 Price, Miss Eleanor B., Norristown, Pa.

## Q

Quigg, Frank, Port Kennedy, Pa.

## R

Ralston, Isabel G., Norristown, Pa.  
 Pa.  
 Rambo, Charles N., New York City, N. Y.  
 Rambo, Joseph S., Norristown, Pa.  
 Read, Miss Nina B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Regar, H. Severn, Norristown, Pa.  
 Regar, Mrs. H. Severn, Norristown, Pa.  
 Rex, John, Norristown, Pa.  
 Rex, Mrs. John, Norristown, Pa.  
 Rhoades, I. Milton, Edge Hill, Pa.  
 Rhoads, Isaac Pennypacker, Trappe, Pa.  
 Richards, Helen E., Norristown, Pa.





Richards, H. M. M., Lebanon, Pa.  
 Richards, Mrs. Isaac, Norristown, Pa.  
 Rittenhouse, B. Franklin, Norristown, Pa.  
 Rittenhouse, Benjamin F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Rittenhouse, Mrs. Frank, Norristown, Pa.  
 †Roberts, Emma D., Norristown, Pa.  
 Roberts, Percival, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Roberts, Samuel, Norristown, Pa.  
 Robison, David E., Norristown, Pa.  
 Rogers, Mrs. George W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Ross, David H., Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Rust, David, Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Rutter, William Ives, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

## S

Salvas, Dr. J. Clarence, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Sanford, Mrs. Edna F., Lincoln, Ill.  
 Schaeffer, Mrs. Frank R., Fairview Village, Pa.  
 \*Schall, Gen. John W., Norristown, Pa.  
 Scheetz, Remandus, Norristown, Pa.  
 Schlichter, J. Warren, Ardmore, Pa.  
 Schuyler, Wm. B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Schwenk, Mrs. Irwin, Schwenksville, Pa.  
 †Scott, Rev. John T., Jeffersonville, Pa.  
 †Scott, Mrs. John T., Jeffersonville, Pa.  
 Seipt, M. D., Bridgeport, Pa.  
 Shalkop, Frank W., Trappe, Pa.  
 Shearer, Leon, Jeffersonville, Pa.  
 Shelly, Mrs. E. F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Sheppard, Rev. John F., Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Sherman, John E., Norristown, Pa.  
 Sims, Joseph Patterson, Chestnut Hill, Pa.  
 Sims, Mrs. J. C. Patterson, Chestnut Hill, Pa.  
 Slingluff, Miss Ella, Norristown, Pa.  
 Slingluff, Miss Helen G., Norristown, Pa.

Slingluff, Miss Minnie, Norristown, Pa.  
 Slingluff, Mrs. W. H., Norristown, Pa.  
 Slough, Ephraim, Norristown, Pa.  
 \*Smith, Rush B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Smith, Mrs. Thomas B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Smyth, S. Gordon, Conshohocken, Pa.  
 Solly, Hon. William F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Solly, Mrs. William F., Norristown, Pa.  
 Spangler, Rev. H. L., Collegeville, Pa.  
 Spare, Chester M., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 †Spare, Mrs. Chester M., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Stahlnecker, H. Wilson, Flourtown, Pa.  
 Stauffer, W. L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Stauffer, Mrs. W. L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Stickler, Franklin A., Norristown, Pa.  
 Stokes, William C., Norristown, Pa.  
 Stone, Frank S., Chestnut Hill, Pa.  
 Strassburger, Perry B., Mont Clair, N. J.  
 Strassburger, Ralph B., Gwynedd Valley, Pa.  
 Sullivan, W. M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Summers, Lillian E., Phoenixville, Pa.  
 Supplee, Mrs. Amanda, Norristown, Pa.  
 Styer, Mrs. Freas, Norristown, Pa.

## T

Taylor, Rev. W. W., Bridgeport, Pa.  
 Thomas, Miss Augusta, Norristown, Pa.  
 Thomas, Mrs. Elizabeth, Norristown, Pa.  
 Thomas, Miss Ellen L., Norristown, Pa.  
 Thompson, Hon. J. Whitaker, Mont Clare, Pa.  
 Tyson, Harry B., Norristown, Pa.  
 Tyson, Miss Laura M., Norristown, Pa.  
 Tyson, Neville B., Norristown, Pa.



## V

Vaux, George, Jr., Bryn Mawr, Pa.

## W

Wager, Abby C., Norristown, Pa.

Walker, Isabelle, Norristown, Pa.

Wanger, George F. P., Pottstown, Pa.

Wanner, Mrs. Ellwood J., Norristown, Pa.

Weaver, Ethan Allen, Germantown, Pa.

Weaver, Mrs. Flora Egbert, Philadelphia, Pa.

Weaver, Dr. J. K., Norristown, Pa.

\*Weber, Dr. Milton Y., Evansburg, Pa.

Weber, W. Harrison, Norristown, Pa.

Weber, Mrs. W. Harrison, Norristown, Pa.

Weber, Winfield S., Philadelphia, Pa.

Welsh, Julia N., Norristown, Pa.

Wentz, Mrs. Henry C., Norristown, Pa.

\*Wentz, Hon. John A., Fort Washington, Pa.

Wetherill, Herbert J., Philadelphia, Pa.

Whitcomb, Anna D., Norristown, Pa.

Whitcomb, Dr. H. Belle, Norristown, Pa.

Whitcomb, Laura V., Norristown, Pa.

\*Wieand, Rev. C. S., Philadelphia, Pa.

\*Wilson, Mrs. Annie, Conshohocken, Pa.

Williams, Rev. C. F., Norristown, Pa.

Williams, Mrs. C. F., Norristown, Pa.

Williams, Henry S., Rosemont, Pa.

Williams, I. C., Royersford, Pa.

Williams, John J., Norristown, Pa.

Williams, Mrs. John J., Norristown, Pa.

Williams, Parker S., Philadelphia, Pa.

Williams, Thomas S., Jenkintown, Pa.

Wills, Mrs. Frank A., Gwynedd Valley, Pa.

Wood, Miss Anna G., Norristown, Pa.

Wood, James W., Conshohocken, Pa.

Wonsetler, B. F., Norristown, Pa.

Wonsetler, Mrs. B. F., Norristown, Pa.

Wright, Norris D., Norristown, Pa.

Wright, Dr. W. J., Skippack, Pa.

## Y

Yeakle, Mrs. Amanda, Norristown, Pa.

Yeakle, Frank S., Norristown, Pa.

Yeakle, Miss Mary A., Norristown, Pa.

Yerkes, Miss Martha, Norristown, Pa.

Yerkes, Milton R., Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Yohn, Henry Irvin, Philadelphia, Pa.

Yost, Daniel F., Norristown, Pa.

Yost, Mrs. Josephine V., Norristown, Pa.

Yost, Miss Marie R., Norristown, Pa.

Young, William P., Pottstown, Pa.

## Z

Zimmerman, Lillian, Norristown, Pa.



## GENERAL INDEX

### A

Aaron, Charles E., 372-3.  
 Aaron, Louisa C., 382.  
 Aaron, Moses, 371.  
 Aaron, Samuel, 366.  
 Abbott, Dr. C. C., 329.  
 Abbott, William, 352.  
 Able, Thomas, 127.  
 Abrahams, Hannah, 346.  
 Abrahams, William M., 380.  
 "Academy College," 349.  
 Academy of Natural Sciences, 369.  
 Acker, Ephraim, 352.  
 Adams, John Quincy, 304, 322.  
 Adams, Q. J., 132.  
 Adelpia Institute, 371.  
 Adle, 353.  
 Adlum, 322.  
 Adopting U. S. Title, 17.  
 Agassiz, Prof., 334.  
 Agnew, Gen. James, 77.  
 Aiman, 377.  
 Albany, N. Y., 25, 298, 327.  
 Aldrich Family, 167.  
 Alexandria, Ind., 347.  
 Allebach, Jacob C., 394.  
 Alleghany Portage R. W., 293.  
 Allentown, Pa., 331.  
 Ambler, Pa., 234.  
 "Andora Gardens," 210.  
 Angell, Col., 24.  
 Anders, George H., 198.  
 Anderson, Dr. Isaac, 348.  
 Andre, Major, 30, 112, 184.  
 Annals of Philadelphia, 182.  
 Annapolis, Md., 51.  
 Anti-Federal Party, 88.  
 Antietam Iron Works, 74, 330.  
 Apple, Alma, 392.  
 Apple, John S., 392.  
 Appomattox, 68, 74.  
 Arlington Cemetery, 61.  
 Armstrong, Gen., 104, 106.  
 Army of the Potomac, 63.  
 Arnold, Gen. Benedict, 24, 105.  
 Arnott, Thomas, 131.  
 Ashmead, Samuel, 141.  
 Atkinson Family, 232.  
 Attack on Fort Mifflin, 26.  
 Attack on Hatboro, 34.  
 Atlee, Col. Samuel, 43, 95.  
 Audubon Club, 209.  
 Audubon, J. J., 121, 308, 324, 334.  
 Auge, Moses, 2.

"Aurora" Newspaper, 229.  
 Avondale, Del. Co., Pa., 299.  
 Azore Islands, 306.

### B

Bagley, Mrs. J. W., 78.  
 Bagley, Major Wm. Henry, 362.  
 Baird, Wm., 155.  
 Baker-General of the Rev., 79.  
 Baker, T. J., 380.  
 Balbi, Prof., 329.  
 Ballaugh, Mrs. James, 359.  
 Bare, J., 135.  
 Barnegat, N. J., 331.  
 Barnes Family, 167.  
 Barney, Charles D., 218.  
 Baron Cuvier, 318.  
 Barren Hill, 34, 92, 246, 382, 388.  
 Bartleson Family, 167.  
 Bartleson, Rudolph, 119.  
 Barton, Dr. B., 307.  
 Barton, Dr. Benj. S., 325.  
 Bartram's Botanic Gardens, 304.  
 Bartram, John, 169.  
 Bartram, William, 169.  
 Basking Ridge, N. J., 100.  
 Batavia, N. Y., 56.  
 Bate, Ann, 344.  
 Bath, W. Va., 347.  
 Battle Flag of the 51st Pa. Vols., 71.  
 Battle of Antietam, Md., 71.  
 Battle of Big Bethel, 55.  
 Battle of Brandywine, 23.  
 Battle of Champagne, 89.  
 Battle of Gaines Mill, 59.  
 Battle of Germantown, 77, 107, 219.  
 Battle of Gettysburg, 80.  
 Battle of New Orleans, 58.  
 Battle of Princeton, 102.  
 Beaumont, Judge, 130.  
 Burns, "Mosey," 388.  
 Burns, Robert, 385.  
 Bean, J. V., 393.  
 Bean, Col. Theo. W., 213, 246.  
 Bean, Major Wm. H., 3, 246, 343.  
 Beck, Clara A., 39, 137, 400.  
 Bedford, Pa., 48.  
 Berkheimer, Henry, 46.  
 Berkheiser, Mrs., 144.  
 Bennett, William, 212.  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 22.  
 Bergey, J. B., 392.





- Berkeley Springs, W. Va., 347.  
 Berkshire Hills, Mass., 327.  
 Bernd, Aaron, 392.  
 Bernd, Franklin G., 395.  
 Bernd, Milton, 392.  
 Bernhard, Clifford, 141.  
 Bertollette, Amos W., 374.  
 Bertollette, Benjamin, 76.  
 Berwyn, Pa., 33.  
 Bethlehem, Pa., 305.  
 Bethlehem Pike, 215.  
 Betton, Samuel, 323.  
 Betton, Dr. Thomas Forrest, 323.  
 Betz, Jacob, 46.  
 Billmeyer House, Germantown, 76.  
 Billington an Eng. Officer, 36.  
 Billingsport, N. J., 27.  
 Bisbing, George, 46.  
 Bisbing, Henry, 46.  
 Bisbing, Peter, 44.  
 Bitting, Col. Anthony, 44.  
 Bliss, B. B., 391.  
 Bloody Run, Pa., 134.  
 Blount, Hon. Thomas, 288.  
 Blue Bell, 394.  
 Blue River, Ind., 130.  
 Bockious, Jacob C., 218.  
 Boileau, A. L., 374.  
 Boileau, Nathaniel, 143.  
 Bolger, Peter, 379, 382.  
 Bolton, Levi, 75.  
 Boone, Daniel, 243.  
 Booz, Jacob, 43.  
 Bordeaux, France, 334.  
 Botsford Family, 167.  
 Boudinot, Elias, 28, 103.  
 Bowring, 22.  
 Boyer, Hon. B. M., 2.  
 Boyer, George, 44.  
 Boyer, Isabella, 153.  
 Boyer, Samuel, 392.  
 Bradbury, Wm. B., 391, 395.  
 Braddock, Gen. Edward, 48.  
 Bradford, William, 26.  
 Bradford, Col., 44.  
 Brandywine Creek, 104.  
 Branchtown, Phila., 215.  
 Brant, Ind. Chief Joseph, 166.  
 Brecht, George K., 78.  
 Brecht, Dr. J. E., 212.  
 Breslin, David R., 374.  
 Briggs Family, 167.  
 Bright, Amos G., 133.  
 Bright, William, 171.  
 Brignall, Nathan, 173.  
 Bringhurst, Dr., 337.  
 British Foraging Parties, 30.  
 Broad Axe, Pa., 117.  
 Brother Cecelian, 212.  
 Brothers Mountains, 134.  
 Brookland Ferry, N. Y., 282.  
 Brown, 329.  
 Brown Family, 167.  
 Brown, Frederick, 328.  
 Brown, Wilhelmina, 346.  
 Brunner, George F., 394.  
 Brunner, Mahlon, 393.  
 Brunswick, N. J., 100.  
 Buck, Wm. J., 3, 53.  
 Buell, Ellen, 361.  
 Buford's, Gen. Cavalry, 63.  
 Buist, Robert, 169.  
 Bull, Col. John, 29, 43, 54, 349.  
 Bunker Hill, 31, 382.  
 Burdette, Robert J., 239.  
 Burgin, Dr. Herman, 76.  
 Burgoyne, General, 23, 86.  
 Burke, L., 132.  
 Burlington, N. J., 100.  
 Burnside, Thomas, 377.  
 Burr, Marmaduke L., 259.  
 Bush, James, 152.  
 Bush, The Misses, 371.  
 Bushkill, Pa., 161.  
 Butler Pike, 215, 233.  
 Butler, Dr. Nicholas Murray,  
 320, 326.  
 Byberry Road, 34.
- C
- Cactoctin Mountains, Md., 330.  
 Cadwallader Family, 232.  
 Cadwallader, Gen. John, 33, 101.  
 Cadwallader, Col. Lambert, 95.  
 Cadwallader, Richard M., 92.  
 Call, Dr., 317, 327, 334, 337.  
 Camp at Falls of Schuylkill, 104.  
 Camp at Whitmarsh, 109.  
 Campaigns—  
 Bull Run, Va., 74.  
 Camden, S. C., 71.  
 Chantilly, 71.  
 East Tenn., 74.  
 Jackson, Miss., 74.  
 Kentucky, 74.  
 New Berne, N. C., 71.  
 Roanoke, Va., 71.  
 South Mountain, 74.  
 Vicksburg, Miss., 74.  
 Campbell, Andrew, 285.  
 Campbell, Jane, 77.  
 Campbell, John R., 373.  
 Canaan, Conn., 329.  
 Carlisle, Pa., 48, 330.  
 Carlton, Will, 239.  
 Carney, The H. C. Memorial, 213.  
 Carpenter's Hall, 10.



- Carr, 223.  
 Carr, Col. Robert, 170.  
 Carroll, Charles, 17.  
 Cartledge, Edmund, Sr., 349.  
 Cassell, Harry, 155.  
 Cassellbury, J. Morgan, 378.  
 Caughler, Capt. Michael, 44.  
 Cavalry, 17th Penna., 81.  
 Cedar Park, Phila., Pa., 221.  
 Cemetery Ridge, Gettysburg, 65.  
 Centre Point, Pa., 396.  
 Centre Square, Pa., 137, 394, 400.  
 Civil War Nurses Pensioned, 70.  
 Chadd's Ford, Pa., 104.  
 Chain, Benj. E., 71.  
 Chain, B. Percy, 71.  
 Chain, John, 72.  
 Chapman, Seth, 367.  
 Chipman, Gen. N. P., 362.  
 Chism, Isaac, 2.  
 Charitable School of Phila., Pa., 349.  
 Charles I., 18.  
 Chastellux, Marquis de, 28.  
 Churches—  
   Abington Meeting, 139.  
   Abington Presbyterian, 251.  
   Baptist, at Ambler, Pa., 210.  
   Baptist, at Colmar, Pa., 210.  
   Boehm's, 45, 140.  
   "Brown," Norristown, Pa., 211.  
   Calvary Mission, 222.  
   Cedar Park Presbyterian, 222.  
   Centennial, 273.  
   Central, Norristown, Pa., 211.  
   Christ, Phila., Pa., 29.  
   Dunkard of Germantown, Pa., 78.  
   Eastminster Mission, 218.  
   Edge Hill Presbyterian, 226.  
   First Presbyterian, Germantown, 218.  
   Second Presbyterian, Germantown, 218.  
   First Methodist, Germantown, 219.  
   Hicksite Friends, 230, 232.  
   Hilltown, Pa., Baptist, 236.  
   House of Prayer, 217.  
   Jeffersonville Presby., 251, 275.  
   Keelor's, 392.  
   Limerick, Montg. Co., Pa., 282.  
   Lower Providence Presbyterian, 251, 393.  
   Montgomery Baptist, 151, 236.  
   New Britain Baptist, 236, 241.  
   Norriton Presbyterian, 249.  
   Old Swedes, at Bridgeport, Pa., 211.  
   Oxford, 120.  
   Plymouth Friends Meeting, 24.  
   Puff's, 234.  
   Salford Mennonite Meeting, 392.  
   St. George's M. E., Phila., 158.  
   St. James, Evansburg, Pa., 345, 398.  
   St. John's Lutheran, Centre Square, Pa., 211.  
   St. John's Lutheran, 394.  
   St. John's, 140, 400.  
   St. Patrick's, Norristown, Pa., 211.  
   St. Paul's, 399.  
   St. Peter's, Barren Hill, Pa., 211.  
   St. Thomas', 92, 119, 398.  
   Somerville Mission, 218.  
   Trinity Church, N. Y., 282.  
   Wentz's Reformed, 42.  
 Clergymen—  
   Rev. Aaron, 353, 366, 369, 377, 388.  
   Rev. Adair, Robert, 257.  
   Rev. Aller, N. S., 261.  
   Rev. Ballentine, F. P., 398.  
   Rev. Barr, Joseph, 368.  
   Rev. Bayley, J. Wesley, 78.  
   Rev. Berkeley, M. J., 176.  
   Rev. Bishop, 257.  
   Rev. Brainerd, Thomas, 257.  
   Rev. Brown, Charles, 257.  
   Rev. Budler, James, 275.  
   Rev. Burk, W. Herbert, 198.  
   Rev. Burr, Joseph, 251.  
   Rev. Bush, George W., 379.  
   Rev. Craig, James, 359.  
   Rev. Collins, Charles, 263, 270.  
   Rev. Cresson, Caleb, 399.  
   Rev. Deitrick, J. D., 394.  
   Rev. De Sweinitz, 331.  
   Rev. Diver, Charles F., 251.  
   Rev. Du Bois, Uriah, 371.  
   Rev. Emerson, D. E., 258.  
   Rev. Evans, David, 251.  
   Rev. Fulton, William, 263.  
   Rev. Galloway, 257.  
   Rev. Godshall, Samuel, 395.  
   Rev. Gould, Samuel, 395.  
   Rev. Grant, John L., 257.  
   Rev. Grier, James, 355.  
   Rev. Grier, John H., 355.  
   Rev. Grier, Nathan, 355.  
   Rev. Haddaway, C. M., 230.  
   Rev. Hassler, John, 45.  
   Rev. Hathaway, H. W., 219, 230.  
   Rev. Hecht, Anton, 45.  
   Rev. Helfenstine, Samuel, 263.  
   Rev. Hendrickson, Wm. C., 274.  
   Rev. Holston, Clyde, 230.





- Rev. Howe, James C., 368.  
 Rev. Howie, Alexander, 298.  
 Rev. Johnson, George H., 276.  
 Rev. Jones, John, 352, 369.  
 Rev. Jones, Malachia, 250.  
 Rev. Keelor, Seneca M., 275.  
 Rev. Keiffer, Henry M., 84.  
 Rev. Kennedy, Archbishop, 377.  
 Rev. Lower, Wm. Barnes, 222.  
 Rev. Lowry, Robert, 391.  
 Rev. Mackie, J. B. C., 226.  
 Rev. McClenachan, Robert, 368.  
 Rev. Meigs, Henry I., 120.  
 Rev. Millett, D. C., 93.  
 Rev. Miller, Alex. J., 120.  
 Rev. Morrill, Guy L., 226.  
 Rev. Muhlenberg, Dr., 305.  
 Rev. Muhlenberg, General Peter, 286.  
 Rev. Nassau, Robert H., 368.  
 Rev. Nassau, William Charles, 368.  
 Rev. Parker, Joseph, 258.  
 Rev. Pratt, James A., 277.  
 Rev. Ralston, J. Grier, 355, 370.  
 Rev. Rice, David, 318.  
 Rev. Rodenbaugh, Henry, 393.  
 Rev. Rood, 257.  
 Rev. Scofield, C. F., 398.  
 Rev. Scott, John T., 278.  
 Rev. Sheeleigh, Mathias, 54.  
 Rev. Smith, William, 120, 349.  
 Rev. Snelling, Samuel, 120.  
 Rev. Snyder, A., 263.  
 Rev. Supplee, Abraham, 158.  
 Rev. Tatlock, William, 277.  
 Rev. Thomas, William, 236.  
 Rev. Trent, Richard, 251.  
 Rev. Trites, Daniel, 257.  
 Rev. Vincent, H. G. G., 218.  
 Rev. Wack, C. P., 263.  
 Rev. Wickline, 394.  
 Rev. Wieand, C. S., 212.  
 Rev. Wilson, James, 251.  
 Coates, Samuel, 380.  
 Cobb's Creek Park, Phila, Pa., 30.  
 Coleman, Joseph C., 371.  
 Colfax, Schuyler, 238.  
 Colflesh, John, 175.  
 Colflesh, Katherine, 175.  
 Colonial Houses—  
   Beck-Louden, 146.  
   Boehm-Reiff-Nolan, 145.  
   Chew's, Germantown, 76, 107.  
   Foulke, Pennlyn, Pa., 93.  
   Grumblethrope, Germantown, 77.  
   Haines, Germantown, 77.  
   Harriton, Lower Merion, Pa., 31  
   McGlathery-Famous, 145.  
   Moore Hall, 124.  
   Morris, 106.  
   Mount Vernon, 47.  
   Ogden, 29.  
   Pomona Grange, Germantown, 303.  
   Tarleton, 33.  
   Wack-Raynan, 145.  
   Wentz-Morris, 145.  
   Wistar, 77.  
   Wyck, Germantown, 77, 324.  
 Colonial Racial Sources, 1.  
 Colors of the 51st Regt. of Pa., 73.  
 Collegeville, Pa., 390.  
 Collins, Zaccheus, 328, 332.  
 Columbia R. R., 331.  
 Community Museum Idea, 198.  
 Congress, The, at Lancaster, Pa., 104.  
 Conner, Col., 117.  
 Conrad, Ann, 345.  
 Conrad, Capt., 149.  
 Conrad, Elizabeth, 346.  
 Conrad Family, 231.  
 Conrad, Timothy, 329.  
 Conshohocken, Pa., 117.  
 Constantinople, 301.  
 Constitutional Convention, 19.  
 Conwell, Dr. Russell H., 239.  
 Cooke, Caroline, 362.  
 Cooke, Jay, 217.  
 Cooke, J. Sydney, 374.  
 Cooke, Walter, 362.  
 Coopersburg, N. Y., 331.  
 Conway, Cabal, 33, 49, 99.  
 Conway, General, 33, 106.  
 Cornwall Furnace, 124.  
 Cornwall Iron Mines, 305.  
 Cornwallis, Lord, 22, 50, 102.  
 Corson, Charles, 42.  
 Corson, Dr. Hiram, 2, 364.  
 Corson, Mrs. Richard, 362.  
 Corson, S. Cameron, 366, 373, 377, 379.  
 Corson, Samuel M., 2, 3.  
 Corson, Dr. William, 361.  
 Council of Trent, 340.  
 Council of Safety, 27.  
 Coulston, 256.  
 Countiss, Henry, 255.  
 Cousins, Phoebe, 238.  
 Counties Gas & Electric Co., 207.  
 Costa Rica, 56.  
 Covington, General, 319.  
 Coxe, J., 132.  
 Chelton Hills Cemetery, 222.  
 Cherry Valley, N. Y., 331.  
 Chester County Troop, 82.  
 Chester, Pa., 29, 103, 299.



Chestnut Hill, Pa., 30, 110, 331.  
 Chestnut Ridge, Pa., 134.  
 Chetoctin (Conshohocken), Pa., 331.  
 Cheveaux de Frieze, 26.  
 Cholera in Philadelphia, 302.  
 Cholera in 1832, 330.  
 Christiana Creek, Delaware, 104.  
 Christman, 353.  
 Church Lane, 215, 219.  
 Church Road, 120.  
 Clair, John, 40.  
 Clamer, Francis J., 206.  
 Clark, Eben, 155.  
 Clay, Henry, 319.  
 Cleveland, S. C., 165.  
 Clifford, 317, 320.  
 Clifford Brothers, Phila., 302.  
 Clinton, General, 118.  
 Clinton, Governor George, 88.  
 Clymer, George, 17.  
 Craig, Capt. John, 112.  
 Craig, Margaret, 358.  
 Craig, Col. Thomas, 41.  
 Craig, William, 358.  
 Crammond, Major, 36.  
 Creamer Family, 232.  
 Creamery, Pa., 390.  
 Cressman, Philip, 352.  
 Crissman, Jesse, 293.  
 Croll, Daniel, 255.  
 Croll, Miss, 352.  
 Crow's Station, Ky., 318.  
 Crum Creek, Delaware Co., Pa., 298.  
 Culp, George, 42.  
 Culp's Hill, Gettysburg, Pa., 66.  
 Curry, Agnes, 348.  
 Curry, James, 348.  
 Curry, Robert, 247.  
 Cuvier, Baron, 305, 329.

## D

Dandridge, Capt., 184.  
 Dannehower, Abraham, 46.  
 Dannett Family, 232.  
 Dambly Estate, E. M., 240.  
 Daniels, Hon. Josephus, 363.  
 Danville, Ky., 318.  
 Darby Creek, Delaware Co., Pa., 128.  
 Darby Road, 29.  
 Darlington, Dr., 327.  
 Darlington, Henry, 242.  
 Darragh, Lydia, 28, 112.  
 Darragh, William, 112.  
 Dart, Philip, 40.  
 Davenport, Iowa, 69.  
 Davis, 353.

Davis, Anna, 351.  
 Davis, Benjamin, 369.  
 Davis Family, 167.  
 Davis, John, 39, 369.  
 Davis, Sergeant Isaac, 39.  
 Davis, President Jefferson, 377.  
 Davis, Llewellyn, 345.  
 Davis, Reuben S., 345.  
 Darwin, Prof., 338.  
 Dawesfield, 291.  
 Dean, Col. William, 44.  
 Dearborn, Hon. Henry, 287.  
 Dechert, Lt. James F., 348.  
 Decius, H. W., 399.  
 Deem, Adam, 46.  
 Deem, Henry, 46.  
 Deer Creek, Ohio, 132.  
 Defense of the Delaware, 24.  
 DeHart, Wm., 173, 180.  
 DeHaven of Blue Bell, 237.  
 DeHaven, Edward, 138.  
 DeHaven, Isaac, 140.  
 DeHaven, Jacob, 138.  
 DeHaven, Peter, 138.  
 DeHaven, Samuel, 138, 140.  
 DeHaven Tanneries, 138.  
 DeKalb Institute, 375, 378.  
 Delaware & Chesapeake Canal, 330.  
 Delp, George, 377.  
 Delp, Samuel, 377.  
 Dennison, J., 134.  
 Dent, Hon. George, 288.  
 Descondole, Prof., 305.  
 DeSchweinitz, 305.  
 Dettra, John, 44.  
 Detweiler, Jones, 2, 239.  
 Detweiler, Samuel, 394.  
 Detweiler, Samuel H., 374.  
 Dickens, Charles, 293.  
 Dickinson, John, 10, 12.  
 Diehl, Jacob F., 395.  
 Diehl, John, 333.  
 Diet Kitchen System, 69.  
 Dill, Mrs. W. W., 212.  
 Dinwiddie, Gov., 47.  
 Disney, Dr. J. L., 78.  
 Disney, Mrs. J. L., 78.  
 Diver, Jos. Heston, 259.  
 Dixon, Mrs., 209.  
 Doane, W. Howard, 391.  
 Dock, Christopher's School, 78.  
 Donaldson, Chas. E., 342.  
 Donop, General, 25.  
 Doolittle Family, 167.  
 Dorworth, Thomas, 255.  
 Dotterer, Henry S., 55.  
 Dougherty, John, 293.  
 Downing, A. J., 180.



Dreshertown, Pa., 216, 229.  
 Drinker, Elizabeth's Diary, 36.  
 Drisher Family, 229.  
 Du Bois, Emilia, 371.  
 Duelling Ground in Phila., Pa., 33.  
 Duke of Vicenza, 91.  
 Duncannon Island, Pa., 124.  
 Dungan, Amos, 394.  
 DuPlessis, Capt., 24.  
 Duponceau, Peter, 326.  
 Durand, 329.

## E

Eacock, Ellen, 154.  
 Eadie, James, 177.  
 Eagleville, Pa., 251.  
 Early Railroads, 296.  
 Eastburn, Miss., 351.  
 Eastwick, And. M., 170.  
 Eaton, Prof., 323.  
 Eberhart, John, 42.  
 Edey, Daniel S., 386.  
 Edge Hill Furnace Co., 225.  
 Edge Hill, Pa., 30, 92, 216.  
 Edgewood Cemetery, Pottstown, 70.  
 Eisenhower, A. D., 2.  
 Eggleston, Edward, 239.  
 Elcock, Judge, 224.  
 Elder, Walter, 177.  
 Elk River, Md., 104.  
 Elliott, Stephen, 328.  
 Ellis School, 246.  
 Ellison, J. Greely, 380.  
 Emlen, George, 92, 109.  
 Emlen, Samuel, 177.  
 Eoff, Dr. John, of Wheeling, W. Va., 328.  
 Ephrata, Pa., 305.  
 Erdenheim, Pa., 240.  
 Ervin, Thomas H., 377.  
 Evacuation of Philadelphia, 35.  
 Evans, Elisha, 367.  
 Exans, Hannah, 34, 56.  
 Evans, Miss, 209.  
 Evans, Oliver, 297.  
 Evans, Owen, 282.  
 Evansburg, Pa., 379, 396, 398.  
 Exeter Railroad Tragedy, 55.  
 Eyre, Capt. Jehu, 41.

## F

Fairfax, Lord, 47.  
 Fair Hill, Phila., Pa., 29.  
 Fairview Village, Pa., 393.  
 Falls Creek, Md., 131.  
 Falls of the Ohio, 317.  
 Farmer, 329.  
 Farmer, Major Jasper, 93.  
 Farmington, Iowa, 69.

Fauchet, M., 88.  
 Faust, Samuel, 393.  
 Fell, John, 109.  
 Fels, Mrs., 224.  
 Fendrick, Mrs. G. F., 347.  
 Fenton, Mrs., 229.  
 Ferusac, Prof., 329.  
 Field, Eugene, 239.  
 Field, Mary French, 239.  
 Fields, John L., 395.  
 Fields, Prof., 394.  
 Fillman, Charles, 154.  
 Finland, Pa., 396.  
 Fitzcharles, John, 46.  
 Fitzgerald, John, 40, 46.  
 Fitzwater, Albert W., 374.  
 Fitzwater, Joseph, 377.  
 Fitzwater, Thomas, 139, 227.  
 Fitzwater, Thomas, Jr., 139.  
 Fitzwatertown, Pa., 227.  
 First Bishop of American Menno-  
   nite Church, 78.  
 First New Hampshire Regt., 35.  
 Fisher, Jesse, 174.  
 Fisher, Wm. G., 391.  
 Fisher's Island, N. Y., 307.  
 Fiske, John, 103.  
 Fishkill, N. Y., 24.  
 Flanagan, Mrs. Sarah J., 348.  
 Flat Rock Creek, 130.  
 Fleck, Adam, 46.  
 Fleck, Peter, 39, 43.  
 Flemington, N. J., 331.  
 "Fonthill," Doylestown, Pa., 186.  
 Foreign Legion, 85.  
 Fornance, Mrs. Ellen K., 247.  
 Fornance, Joseph, 73, 208, 247,  
   377.  
 Forrest, Col. Thomas, 302, 323.  
 Forts:  
   Augusta, Pa., 42.  
   Constitution, 95.  
   Lee, 95.  
   Mercer, 251.  
   Meyer, 62.  
   Mifflin, 22, 110.  
   Washington, N. Y., 28, 93.  
   Washington, Pa., 30, 92, 225,  
   240, 382.  
 Foulkes of Gwynedd, 182.  
 Foulkes, Hannah, 183.  
 Foulkes, Judah, 140.  
 Foulkes, William, 183.  
 Fox, Edward, 89.  
 Fox, Frances M., 73.  
 Fox, Gilbert Rodman, 89.  
 Franconia Square, Pa., 392.  
 Frank, Jacob, 186.  
 Frankenfield, Abraham, 395.





- Franklin, Benjamin, 11, 18, 22, 294-5.  
 Franklin Institute, 326.  
 Franklinian Society, 369.  
 Freas, 377.  
 Freas, Philip R., 177.  
 Frederick, John S., 394.  
 Frederick Hall, 392.  
 Frederick, Md., 330.  
 Freedley, 353.  
 Freedley, Edwin T., 373.  
 Freedley, Henry, 40, 43, 373.  
 French and Indian War, 1756-8, 48.  
 Fries, Daniel, 46.  
 Frosh, Dr., 165.  
 Fulmer, Michael, 43.  
 Fulton, Robert, 307.  
 Funk, David, 255.  
 Fussell, Solomon, 131.
- G**
- Gaisson, Prof., 305.  
 Galloway, Joseph, 36.  
 Galt, James A., 373.  
 Galt, Zadoc T., 374.  
 Garden Club, 209.  
 Gardiner, Daniel, 373.  
 Gardner Family, 167.  
 Garges, Mrs. Abraham, 241.  
 Garrett, 131.  
 Garrigues Family, 231.  
 Gartley, 353.  
 Gates, Gen. Horatio, 23, 99.  
 Gause, John H., 377.  
 Gehman, Harvey, 395.  
 Geiger, Jacob P., 395.  
 Genet, Mrs. Alfred R., 86.  
 Genet "Citizen," 85.  
 Genet, Edmund, 85.  
 Genet, Edmund Charles, 85.  
 Genet, Lt. Gilbert R. F., 89.  
 Genet, Martha Fox, 88.  
 Genet War Letters, 85.  
 Genet, William Rivers, 88.  
 George, Capt., 26.  
 George III., 18.  
 George V., 90.  
 Genoa, Italy, 301.  
 Gentryville, Ind., 320.  
 "Gerard's" Orphan Asylum, 341.  
 Gerhard, Jacob, 392.  
 Gerhard, Mahlon, 392.  
 Gerhart, Nicholas, 46.  
 Germaine, Lord George, 30.  
 Germantown, Pa., 302.  
 Germantown Academy, 76.  
 Gerry, Elbridge, V. P. U. S., 150.  
 Gest, Mr., 78.  
 Gettysburg, Pa., 384.  
 Gibbons, Mrs. Henry J., 204.  
 Gibson, Muscoe M., 378.  
 Gilbert, Clara, 211.  
 Gilbert, Curtis, 374.  
 Gilpin, Dr., 325.  
 Gist, Col. Mordecia, 111.  
 Glenside, Pa., 223.  
 Glover, General, 25.  
 Godfrey, Thomas, 215.  
 Godshall, Herman, 394.  
 Godshall, Richard, 395.  
 Goetner, Mr., 155.  
 Golden Mountain, N. Y., 167.  
 Gordon's Ford, Pa., 105.  
 Gorgas, Anna, 79.  
 Gorgas Family, 78.  
 Gotwals, Jacob V., 208, 377, 385.  
 Gotwals, Joseph G., 393.  
 Gotwals, J. K., 2, 347.  
 Goshen, William, 373.  
 Goshenhoppen Church, 55.  
 Gough, John B., 239.  
 Goughler, Capt., 44.  
 Grant, General, 36, 118.  
 Grant, General U. S., 60.  
 Gratersford, Pa., 390.  
 Graul, H. W., 393.  
 Graves: "Clerk of Court," 333.  
 Gray, General, 105.  
 Graydon, Capt. Alexander, 303.  
 Graydon, Capt. Caleb, 42.  
 Graydon's Memoirs, 96.  
 Grays Ferry, 30.  
 Great Distress in Philadelphia, 36.  
 Great Meadows, Pa., 48.  
 Green, Benneville, 394.  
 Green, Carlo, 352.  
 Green, Col. Chris., 24.  
 Green, Lt. Col. John, 24.  
 Green, Gen. Nathaniel, 95, 220.  
 Green, Prof., 329.  
 Green Lane, Pa., 392.  
 "Grey Towers," 223.  
 Grier, Elizabeth, 361.  
 Grier, John, 355.  
 Grier, Joseph, 355.  
 Grier, Dr. Joseph F., 355.  
 Grier, Nancy Hayes, 355.  
 Grieve, George, 28.  
 Griffiths, Julian, 387.  
 Griffiths, Robert S., 374.  
 Grimes, Saltzer, 394.  
 Gross, Samuel N., 395.  
 Grubb, J. B., 393.  
 Guernsey Family, 167.  
 "Guineatown," 224.  
 Gulph Creek, Pa., 325.



"Gulph Gap," Montgomery Co., Pa., 325.  
 Gummere's Classical School, 371.  
 Gummere, John, 371.  
 Gwinnett, Button, 19.  
 Gwynedd Valley Kennel Club, 209.

## H

Hahn, 353.  
 Hahn, Mrs. Wm. B., 185.  
 Haines, Casper Wistar, 77.  
 Haines, Reuben, 77, 324.  
 Hall Family, 167.  
 Halsey, Amelia, 361.  
 Halsted, Murat, 239.  
 Ham, Commune of, in France, 91.  
 Hamer, Robert, 377.  
 Hamill, 350.  
 Hamill, Elizabeth, 369.  
 Hamill, Hannah, 368.  
 Hamill, Isabel, 369.  
 Hamill, Letitia, 368.  
 Hamill, Robert, 368.  
 Hamill, Stephen P., 374.  
 Hamilton, 329.  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 23, 33, 48, 51, 87.  
 Hamilton, Capt., 41.  
 Hampton, Col., 105.  
 Hampton, John H., 378.  
 Hancock, John, 17, 373.  
 Hancock, Gen. Winfield S., 81, 185, 368, 370.  
 Hanks, Dennis, 320.  
 Hanna, Lt. Col. James, 289.  
 Harcourt, Col., 100.  
 Harlem River, 97.  
 Harleysville, Pa., 392.  
 Harmer, Charles, 122.  
 Harmer, Hill, 223.  
 Harmer, Col. Josiah, 39.  
 Harner, Elizabeth, 345.  
 Harper, 353.  
 Harper's Ferry, W. Va., 330.  
 Harper, Robert, 122.  
 Harper, Hon. Robert G., 288.  
 Harper, Mrs. Wm. Warner, 210.  
 Harris Family, 167.  
 Harris, John, 374.  
 Harrison, Benjamin, of Va., 12.  
 Harrison, Gen. Wm. Henry, 319.  
 Harrison, W. W., 223.  
 Harrod's Station, Ky., 318.  
 Harry, John W., 366, 378, 380.  
 Hart, Elwood, 155.  
 Hartley, Col. Thomas, 41.  
 Hartranft, John F., 72, 353, 362, 377.  
 Hartranft, Samuel E., 72.  
 Hartsville, Pa., 103.  
 Hartzell, H. E., 393.  
 Hatboro, Pa., 34.  
 Hatfield, Pa., 392.  
 Hathaway Family, 167.  
 Harwick, Monroe, 395.  
 Hauch, Nancy, 243.  
 Hause, Jacob, 150.  
 Havre-de-Grace, Md., 322.  
 Hawes, Jacob, 141.  
 Hazard Family, 167.  
 Hazen, Col. Moses, 43.  
 Headstown, Pa., 331.  
 Heath, General, 99.  
 Heilig, Mrs., 78.  
 Heist, Capt., 150.  
 Heist, George, 46, 149.  
 Heist, John, 44.  
 Heebner, J. D., 393.  
 Hellersburg, Pa., 331.  
 Helmbold, Dr., 329, 334.  
 Henderson, Charles M., 374.  
 Henderson, Ky., 308.  
 Henning, Jacob, 135.  
 Henry, Fanny, 362.  
 Henry, Joseph, 346.  
 Henry, Mary, 346.  
 Hensch, J. B., 377.  
 Henshaw, C. C., 377.  
 Henzey, J. B., 135.  
 Herth, Corp. John, 41.  
 Hess, Capt., 150.  
 Hessian Cavalry, 120.  
 Hessians, 108.  
 Heston, Col. Edward, 31.  
 Heydt-Hite, Hans Joest, 53.  
 Highley, Henry, 255.  
 Highley, Thomas, 393.  
 Hilton, Ann Matilda, 225.  
 Hilltown, Pa., 395.  
 Hiltzheimer, Jacob, 26.  
 Histe, John, 44.  
 Hite, Jost, 53.  
 Hobart, 353.  
 Hobson, F. G., 2.  
 Hobson, William, 173.  
 Hocker, Edward W., 76, 182, 235, 280, 324.  
 Hoeffcker, R. F., 2.  
 Hoffman, Adam, 40.  
 Hoffman, Jacob, 43.  
 Hoffman, Joseph, 46.  
 Holland Purchase, N. Y., 62.  
 Holley, Dr. Horace, 318.  
 Hollidaysburg, Pa., 293.  
 Holmes Family, 167.  
 Holmes, Isabel, 362.  
 Holstein, Anna M., 3.





- Holstein, George W., 3.  
 Holstein, Major Wm. H., 2.  
 Homsher, Miss, 346.  
 Honey, Capt. George, 45.  
 Honor Roll of St. John's Church,  
   39.  
 Hood, Wm., 154.  
 Hooker, Dr. Joseph, 171.  
 Hooper, Rebecca, 345.  
 Hoover, Capt., 150.  
 Hoover, Hon. C. Hiram, 3, 394.  
 Hoover, S. Earl, 226.  
 Hopkins, Stephen, 18.  
 Horsham Pike, 215.  
 Hough, Wm. A., 369, 372.  
 Hought, Henry, 246.  
 Howard, Gen.'s Corps., 63.  
 Howe, Admiral, 94.  
 Howe, Lord Wm., 22, 24, 30, 54,  
   94.  
 Howells, Mrs., 334.  
 Howland, 377.  
 Hoxworth, Enos, 154.  
 Hubley, Col. Adam, 41.  
 Huddleston, James R., 374.  
 Hugh, Dr. Charles B., 212.  
 Hughes, John J., 311.  
 Humphreys-Humphries, 13.  
 Humphreys, Adam, 42.  
 Humphreys, Eliza, 152.  
 Humphreys, Capt. Jacob, 43.  
 Humphreys, Capt. Joshua, 45.  
 Humphreys, Col. Thomas, 46, 141,  
   146, 151.  
 Hunt Family, 167.  
 Hunsberger, Martin, 392-4.  
 Hunsicker, Bessie, 362.  
 Hunsicker, Clifton, 212.  
 Hunsicker, Mrs. John, 362.  
 Hunsicker, Mrs. Mae, 212.  
 Hurd, 377.  
 Hurst, Lt., 150.  
 Hurst, George, 46.  
 Hurst, William, 142.  
 Hussey, William, 364.  
 Huston, 353.  
 Huston, Capt.-Lt. John, 44.  
 Hyneman, John M., 150.
- I
- Illi, Christian, 155.  
 In-de-Haven, 137.  
 In-de-Haven, Peter, 137.  
 In-de-Haven, Samuel, 137.  
 Indian Mounds in Ohio, 318.  
 Ingalls, Hon. John J., 239.  
 Ingraham Family, 167.  
 Ingram, Capt. Jonas, 32.  
 "Initiation Hall," Treemount, 387.  
 Inns, Taverns, Hotels, signs of—  
   Amanda, 132.  
   Anderson's, C., 128.  
   Anderson's, H., 130.  
   Bee Hive, 127.  
   Bell, 124.  
   Black Horse, 31, 135, 388.  
   Bludsoe's, S., 130.  
   Blue Bell, 29, 106, 109, 124.  
   Broad Axe, 141.  
   Buck, 130, 133.  
   Bull's Head, 299.  
   Centre Square, 155.  
   Crimer's, J., 133.  
   Crooked Billet, 34, 92.  
   Cross Keys, 124, 134.  
   Decatur, Commodore Stephen,  
     127.  
   Dennison's, Anthony O., 129.  
   Eagle, 133, 134, 135, 226.  
   Elliot's, John H., 129.  
   Fletcher's, Wm., 134.  
   Fluck's, J., 127.  
   Fountain, 135.  
   Fox's, 124.  
   Globe, 129.  
   Goddess of Liberty, 130, 142.  
   Goose, 134.  
   Green Tree, 126, 134, 135.  
   Hampson's, Wm., 126.  
   Hughes, John, 124.  
   Indian Queen, 126.  
   Jolly Post Boy, 28.  
   Jones', Thomas, 134.  
   Kerr's, T., 125.  
   King of Prussia, 382.  
   Lafayette, 126, 128, 130.  
   Levering's, 135.  
   Lion, 130.  
   Little's, 130.  
   Livingood's, 127, 133.  
   Mansion, 126.  
   McCorm's, Wm., 127.  
   McDowell's, 128.  
   Moyer's, Womelsdorf, Pa., 135.  
   National, 132.  
   Peace & Plenty, 128.  
   Plough, 131.  
   Rambo's, 141.  
   Red Lion, 28, 135, 206.  
   Rising Sun, 28.  
   St. Louis, 57.  
   Selheimer's, A. W., 125.  
   Seven Stars, 127.  
   Smith's, E., 128.  
   Spread Eagle, 124, 128.  
   Spring Creek, 135.  
   Springer's, P. P., 133.



Sorrell Horse, 124, 140.  
 Star, 132.  
 State Capitol, 135.  
 Stuart's, John, 129.  
 Sun, 132.  
 Swartz', 125.  
 Sweet Arrow, 135.  
 Three Tuns, 92.  
 Traveller, 125.  
 Union, 132, 134.  
 Van Kirk's, 134.  
 Waggon, 139.  
 Waggon & Horses, 128.  
 Walnut Bottom, 135.  
 Warren, 105, 382.  
 Washington, 72, 133, 134.  
 Wheat Sheaf, 127.  
 White Horse, 140, 155.  
 Wilson's, Jacob, 134.

International Honor to Dr. Rand,  
 61.

Iredell Family, 232.  
 Iredell, Jones, 374.  
 Iredell, Robert, 353.  
 Irick, Wm. H., 373.  
 Irvine, General, 110.  
 Irvine, Col. Wm., 40.  
 Irving, Washington, 109.  
 Isett, Charles, 353.  
 Isett, Evan, 353.

## J

Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 58.  
 Jackson, Gen. "Stonewall," 59.  
 Jacobs, 377.  
 Jacobs, Charles, 353.  
 Jacobs Creek, Pa., 134.  
 Jacobs, Dr. Theo., 353, 378.  
 Jacoby, Henry, 148.  
 Jacoby, Henry S., 374.  
 Jago, Harry H., 73.  
 James, Asa, 352.  
 Jarrett, David, 121, 135.  
 Jarrett Family, 232.  
 Jarrett, Samuel F., 121.  
 Jarrettown, Pa., 215, 229.  
 Jayne, David W., 373.  
 Jefferson Hall, 273.  
 Jefferson, Pres. Thomas, 14, 17,  
 51, 87, 149, 304.  
 Jeffersonville, Pa., 247.  
 Jellett, Edwin C., 76, 169, 323,  
 326.  
 Jenkins, Charles F., 77.  
 Jenkins, Howard M., 182.  
 Jenkins, J. P. Hale, 47, 286.  
 Jenkintown Road, 221.  
 John of Brent, 16.

Johnson, 329.  
 Johnson, Anna, 77.  
 Johnson, J., 134.  
 Johnson, Lieut., 150.  
 Johnson, Wilmer H., 242.  
 Johnson, Wilmer M., 236.  
 Johnston, Governor, 215.  
 Jones, Mrs. A. Conrad, 71.  
 Jones, Mordecai, 150.  
 Jones, Robert, 246.  
 Jones, Silas, 42.  
 Jones, Spencer L., 379.  
 Jordon, David Starr, 318.  
 "Julianna" of the Hoboken Ferry,  
 298.  
 Juniata River, 124, 305, 330.

## K

Kaaterskill Mountains, 331.  
 Karn, Rose Fitzwater, 139.  
 Katz, Albert, 143, 154.  
 Katz, John, 143.  
 Kelley, Noble, 255.  
 Kendall, Prof., 394.  
 Kenderdine Family, 232.  
 Kennedy, John, 176.  
 Kenney Family, 167.  
 Kentucky Bats, 312.  
 Kentucky Cane-Brake, 313.  
 Kentucky Gazette, Newspaper, 319.  
 Kentucky Institute, 319.  
 Kenyon Family, 167.  
 Keokuk, Iowa, 69.  
 Kershaw, Dr. Wm., 76.  
 Keyser Family, 78.  
 Keyser, H. K., 393.  
 Kilpatrick, Wm. B., 212.  
 Kilvington, Robert, 173.  
 Kim, 329.  
 Kinear, Margaret, 359.  
 King, John L., 374.  
 King, Katie, 321.  
 Kinsey, Wm. L., Public School,  
 219.  
 Kishickoquallis Creek, Pa., 125.  
 Kite, Wm., 326.  
 Kittatinney Mountain, 124.  
 Kittera, Hon. John W., 288.  
 Kirk, 230.  
 Klahr, Frederick, 46.  
 Klahr, Hannah Supplee, 46.  
 Klahr, John, 40.  
 Klein, George, 41.  
 Kline, Solomon, 395.  
 Kneisel, John, 46.  
 Knight, Wm., 351-2.  
 Knipe, Irvin P., 379, 386, 400.



Knipe, Mrs. Rinoehl, 348.  
 Knipe, Silas, 388.  
 Knox, Capt. Andrew, 246-7.  
 Knox, Daniel, 248.  
 Knox, General Henry, 107.  
 Koch, Jacob, 41.  
 Kratz, A. Z., 393.  
 Kratz, Henry W., 1, 53, 73, 78, 393.  
 Kriebel, Howard W., 156.  
 Kroll, 350.  
 Krout, Jacob R., 395.  
 Kuder, Franklin, 395.  
 Kugler's Restaurant, 353.  
 Kulp, H. D., 393.  
 Kulp, Isaac F., 393.  
 Kulpsville, Pa., 396.  
 Kunder, Thomas, 78.  
 Kynphausen, General, 104.

## L

Lackey, Thomas, 131.  
 Lacy, Gen. John, 31, 92.  
 Lafayette at Barren Hill, 92, 118.  
 Lafayette Escadrille, 89.  
 Lafayette, General, 22, 49, 117, 291, 320, 388.  
 Lafferty, Lewis, 394.  
 La-Grange Vacation Home, 224.  
 Lake Erie, 298.  
 Lane, Ann, 345, 349.  
 Lane, Cecelia, 345.  
 Lane, Edward, 345, 349, 398.  
 Lane, Elizabeth, 345.  
 Lane, Rebecca, 345, 349.  
 Lane, Samuel, 345, 349.  
 Lane, William, 345.  
 Lansdale, Pa., 241.  
 Lanthois, Emily, 340.  
 Lanthois, George L., 334.  
 Lanthois, Paul, 340.  
 Larimore, David, 357, 361.  
 Larimore, Mary A., 357.  
 Larimore, Nancy R., 357.  
 Larzelere, C. Townley, 379.  
 Larzelere, John W., 379.  
 Larzelere, Nicholas H., 198.  
 Latshaw, J. M., 393.  
 Latta, Mary, 359.  
 Laurel Ridge, Pa., 134.  
 Laurens, Col. John, 32, 33, 38, 248.  
 Laurens, Henry, 248.  
 Laurance, Ensign, 150.  
 Lawrence, Commodore, 149.  
 Lawrence, Mrs. T. B., 194.  
 Lawrenceville, N. J., Seminary, 368.

Leatherman, Aaron, 395.  
 Lechler, Capt. Anthony, 44.  
 Lederach, Pa., 396.  
 Lee, General Charles, 33, 98.  
 Lee, Elizabeth L., 233.  
 Lee, Henry, 51.  
 Lee, "Light Horse" Harry, 33.  
 Lee, Richard Henry, 11, 12, 116.  
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., 51, 74.  
 Lee, Sarah, 135.  
 Leech, Isaac, 169.  
 Leech, Maximillian, 169.  
 Leesburg, Loudon Co., Va., 330.  
 Leffmen, Dr. Henry, 5.  
 Leghorn, Italy, 301.  
 Leiper, George Gray, 299.  
 Leiper, Lieut. Thomas, 298.  
 Leiper's Railway and Canal, 298.  
 Leiperville, Pa., 299.  
 Leonard, Leonard, 395.  
 Leseuer, Charles A., 321, 334.  
 Leslie, Prof. C. E., 395.  
 Lespey, R. M., 192.  
 Lewis, 377.  
 Lewis, John, 131.  
 Lewis & Clark's Expedition, 305.  
 Lewistown Narrows, Pa., 125.  
 Levering, Jacob, 46.  
 Levering, Martin, 377.  
 Lexington, Ky., 318.  
 Lexington, Mass., 382.  
 Libby, 377.  
 Licking Creek, Ohio, 128.  
 Light Dragoons of Whitpain, 146.  
 Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, 59, 243, 320, 362.  
 Lincoln's Call for Volunteers, 56.  
 Lincoln, General Robert, 22, 49.  
 Lincoln-McClellan Campaign, 386.  
 Lincoln, Mordecia, 243.  
 Lincoln, Thomas, 320.  
 Lindsay, Lieut., 34.  
 Lippard, George, 14.  
 Limekiln Pike, 214.  
 Limerick Centre, Pa., 390.  
 Line Lexington, Pa., 331.  
 Livermore, Harriet, 78.  
 Livesey, Thomas, 246.  
 Livingston, Robert, 307.  
 Loch, John W., 353, 366, 371, 374, 377.  
 Loch, Flora M., 377.  
 Logan, 329.  
 Logan Nursery, 171.  
 Logan of Stenton, 103.  
 Longacre's School House, 254.  
 Longaker, 353.  
 Longfellow, Henry W., 55.  
 Long Island, N. Y., 94.





Longstreth, General, 66.  
 Loller Academy, Hatboro, Pa., 369.  
 Loller, Hon. Robert, 286.  
 Lotteridge, Silas A., 209.  
 Lotteries, 280, 296.  
 Louis XVI., 87.  
 Love, Cecile, 345.  
 Lovell, James, 116.  
 Loyalhanna Creek, Pa., 333.  
 Lukens, Hiram, 128.  
 Lukens, Isaiah, 333.  
 Ludwig, Christopher, 79.  
 Lulu Temple Country Club, 226.  
 Luther Family, 167.  
 Lutheran Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., 63.  
 Lutz, Abram, 46, 144.  
 Lutz, Col., 46.  
 Lutz, Conrad, 41.  
 Lutz, Jacob, 46.  
 Lutz, Mary Ann, 144.  
 Lyceum Hall, Whitemarsh, Pa., 394.  
 Lynch, Thomas, 18.  
 Lyons, John, 169.  
 Lyons Brothers, 357.

# M

Mack, Alexander, 78.  
 Macclure, Wm., 321.  
 MacNellis, John C., 56.  
 Macungie, Pa., 285.  
 Mad River, Ohio, 129.  
 Madison's (Matson's) Ford, 33.  
 Madison, Pres. James, 305.  
 Magaw, Col., 94.  
 Main, Hubert P., 391.  
 Mainland, Pa., 392.  
 Malin Family, 167.  
 Malin, Rachael, 162.  
 Mallory Family, 167.  
 Manhattan Island, 28.  
 Markley, 353.  
 Markley, Abraham, 72.  
 Markley, Philip, 41.  
 Markle, Samuel, 380.  
 Marks Family, 232.  
 Marseilles, France, 301.  
 Marshall, Christopher's Diary, 29, 35, 111, 328.  
 Marshall, John, Chief Justice, 51.  
 Marshall's Botanic Garden, 304.  
 Martin, John, 46.  
 Martin, Mrs. Willis, 209.  
 Mason and Dixon's Line, 19.  
 Mason, Dr. Lowell, 391.  
 Massacre at Paoli, 40.  
 Mathews Family, 236.

Matlack Family, 232.  
 Mathews, Edward, 3, 137, 235.  
 Matson's Ford, Pa., 35, 31, 93, 119, 382.  
 Matsunk, Pa., 388.  
 Matthews, Col., 220.  
 Mauch, Albert, 155.  
 Mauch Chunk, Pa., 328.  
 Maxatawny, Pa., 285.  
 Maysville (Limestone), Ky., 318.  
 McAllister, Prof. A. S., 343.  
 McCall, Ansell, 347.  
 McCalla Family, 347.  
 McCalla, John, 347.  
 McCay, Wm. H., 374.  
 McClathery-McGlatheary, Isaac, 45.  
 McClathery, William, 45.  
 McClellan, General, 59.  
 McClure, Dr., 177.  
 McConnell, Sgt. Jas. R., 90.  
 McDermott, William, 3.  
 McDougal, General, 23, 106.  
 McFarland, Elbridge, 378.  
 McFarland, John, 346.  
 McFarland, Prof. John M., 342.  
 McFarland, Margaret, 350.  
 McGlatheary, Capt., 150.  
 McGlatheary, Hon. Grant R., 212.  
 McGlatheary, Isaac, 246.  
 McGowen, Capt., 42.  
 McIntosh, General, 34.  
 McKahin, John, 258.  
 McKahin, Mary A., 258.  
 McKahin, Mrs. Mary, 258.  
 McKahin, William, 258.  
 McKean, 14.  
 McKinley, Major, 322.  
 McLane, Allen, 38, 106.  
 McLaurin, Mrs. Penelope, 362.  
 McMichael, Lieut. James, 54.  
 McNair, Sec'y Stephen Y., 377.  
 Meade, Gen. George G., 81.  
 Meadville, Pa., 48.  
 Mears, Mrs. Annie DeB., 217.  
 Mease, Dr. James, 328-9, 337.  
 Medal of Honor Legion, 60-1.  
 Medical Flora, 328.  
 Meehan, Joseph, 177.  
 Meehan, Katherine, 175.  
 Meehan, Thomas, 171, 338.  
 Meeting House Lane, 219.  
 Mennonite Meeting, Germantown, 77-8.  
 Mercer, Henry C., 186, 342.  
 Mercer Museum, Doylestown, Pa., 342.  
 Mercersburg, Pa., 347.  
 Merchants Ship Building Corp., 210.



- Meredith Family, 236.  
 Meschianza of Lord Howe, 118.  
 Meschter, Dr., 239.  
 Methacton Hills, Pa., 105, 251.  
 Miami River, Ohio, 129.  
 Micheaux, Andre, 169.  
 Middle Ferry, Philadelphia, 29.  
 Mifflin, Col., 117.  
 Mifflin, Thos., Pres. of Congress, 51, 286.  
 Milan, Hans, 77.  
 Miles, Col. Samuel, 40-1, 91, 184.  
 Militia Hill, Pa., 92.  
 Miller, Adam, 42, 43.  
 Miller, Charles H., 177.  
 Miller, Daniel H., 395.  
 Miller, Dr., 342.  
 Miller, Jacob, 43.  
 Miller, John, 43.  
 Miller, Hon. John Faber, 208.  
 Miller, Lieut. John, 46.  
 Miller, Israel, 394.  
 Miller, Samuel, 267.  
 Mills, Grist and other—  
     Brown's, 125.  
     Farmer's, 93.  
     Foulke's, 183.  
     Fitzwater's, 139.  
     Geisenheimer's, 246.  
     Gulph, 31, 118, 382, 388.  
     Millgrove, 121.  
     Pennypacker's, 53, 93, 105, 139, 382.  
     Robert's, 215, 218.  
     Trooper, 269.  
 Mitchell, Michael, 43.  
 Mitten, Dr., 171.  
 Mogeetown, Pa., 388.  
 Moll, Edwin, 393.  
 Monmouth Court House, N. J., 33.  
 Monocacy Hill, Pa., 243.  
 Monocacy Region, Md., 330.  
 Monongahela River, Pa., 127, 134.  
 Monroe, Pres. James, 305.  
 Montague, Wm. E., 198.  
 Montgomery Co. Court House, Pa., 72.  
 Montgomery Square, Pa., 331.  
 Montauk Point, N. Y., 307.  
 Montier, Jane, 225.  
 Moore, R., 374.  
 Moore, Robert Thomson, 347.  
 Moore, William, 28.  
 Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 23, 110.  
 Morris, Anthony, 120, 137.  
 Morris, B. Wister, 218.  
 Morris, General James, 286.  
 Morris, John, 93, 153.  
 Morris, Gov., 53.  
 Morris, Goveneur, K., 298.  
 Morris, Major, 111.  
 Morris, Oliver G., 239.  
 Morris, Robert, 13, 101.  
 Morris, Rodger, 97.  
 Morris, Samuel, 27.  
 Morrisville Heights, Pa., 103.  
 Morton, John, 13, 18, 20, 369.  
 Morton, Robert, 29, 35.  
 Moser, Christian, 40.  
 Moser, Henry, 268, 400.  
 Mounce, Jones, 243.  
 Mount Airy, Pa., 106, 331.  
 Mount Holly, N. J., Institute, 372.  
 Moyer, Abraham, 395.  
 Moyer, Lieut. Henry, 45.  
 Moyer, Henry, 285.  
 Moyer, Henry M., 394.  
 Moyer, Isaac O., 395.  
 Moyer, J. K., 393.  
 Mud Island, 26.  
 Mud Lane, 268.  
 Muhlenburg, F. A., 291.  
 Muhlenburg's Journal, 40.  
 Muller, Adam, 42-3.  
 Mullholland, General, 60.  
 Mullin, Caroline H., 225.  
 Murphy, George, 146.  
 Murphy, James A., 211.  
 Murphy, John E., 211-12.  
 Murray, S., 135.  
 Musgrave, Col., 107.  
 Muskingum River, Ohio, 128.  
 Musselman, L. M., 394.  
 Myers, Albert Cook, 182.
- N
- Nassau, Mrs. Robert, 359.  
 National Museum, 337.  
 National Road, 127, 130.  
 Natural Water Falls, 323.  
 Neely, Martha, 346.  
 Negley, A., 131.  
 Neimeyer, John H., 362.  
 Neshaminy Falls, Pa., 103.  
 Neumyer, 377.  
 New Brunswick, N. J., 331.  
 Newburg, N. Y., 50.  
 New Castle & Delaware R. R., 329.  
 New Harmony, Ind., 320.  
 New Hope, Pa., 328.  
 New Jerusalem, N. Y., 161.  
 New Lebanon, N. Y., 327-9.  
 New London Academy, Pa., 356.  
 New London, Conn., 307.  
 "New Lights," 251.  
 New Orleans, La., 56, 320.  
 Newtown, Pa., 379.  
 Nicaragua, 56.





Nicola, Col. Lewis, 45.  
 Nicholas Family, 167.  
 Nichols, Thomas, 42.  
 Nieukirk, Emily, 65.  
 Niles Family, 167.  
 Nile's Register, 297.  
 Nixon, Capt. John, 15.  
 Nixon, General, 25.  
 Nolan's Hill, 145.  
 Norris, Benjamin, 350.  
 Norris, Deborah, 183.  
 Norris, Mary, 72.  
 Norristown Academy, 251, 351,  
 367, 370.  
 Norristown Fire Siren, 207.  
 Norristown Select Schools, 370.  
 North Adams, Mass., 236.  
 North Carolina Brigade, 107.  
 North Glenside, Pa., 225.  
 North River, N. Y., 97.  
 North Virginia Cavalry, 59.  
 North Wales, Pa., 241.  
 Northern Liberties, Phila., Pa.,  
 299.  
 Norton, 353.  
 Norton, C., 128.  
 Noviack, Edwin, 373.  
 Nuftzinger, F. H., 394.  
 Nunemaker, Henry, 285.  
 Nuttal, Prof., 335.

## O

Oakland Female Seminary, 355,  
 370.  
 Oaks, Pa., 299.  
 Oil Mill Run, 143.  
 "Old Jimmy" of Tremount, 384.  
 Old Lancaster Road, 31.  
 "Old Lights," 251.  
 Old York Road, 31, 219.  
 O'Neil, Thomas, 362.  
 Operations on the Schuylkill, 29.  
 Oregon Trail, 305.  
 Organization of this Society, 2.  
 Origin of Species, 335.  
 Original Resolution of Independ-  
 ence, 12.  
 Orr, Sylvester H., 390.  
 Osbourne, Headmaster, 76.  
 Osbourne, Richard, 46.  
 Ostego Lake, N. Y., 331.  
 Outing to Germantown, 76.  
 Overholtzer, John E., 198.  
 Owen, David Dale, 321.  
 Owen, Hannah, 261.  
 Owen, Robert, 320.  
 Owen, Robert Dale, 321.  
 Owenism and Owenites, 320.

Owenism at Valley Forge, Pa., 324.  
 Owen's Socialistic Colony, 320.

## P

Paine, Thomas, 102.  
 Painter, George M., 380, 378-9.  
 Palermo, Italy, 306.  
 Pankhurst, Emmaline, 22.  
 Paoli, Pa., 105, 382.  
 Paris, France, 305.  
 Parke, Lt.-Col. John, 54.  
 Parton, 22.  
 Patterson, Benjamin, 347.  
 Paulding, Captor of Andre, 149.  
 Pawling, Elizabeth, 345.  
 Pawling, Levi, 367.  
 Paxton Family, 232.  
 Peale, 329.  
 Penn Square, Pa., 153.  
 Penn, William, 9, 139, 249, 294,  
 344.  
 Penn, William, Jr., 249.  
 Penn Yan, N. Y., 156.  
 Penncoyd Iron Works, 174.  
 Pennsburg, Pa., 396.  
 "Penna. Evening Post" News-  
 paper, 15.  
 Penna. Exiles in Virginia, 36.  
 Penna. Horticultural Society, 176.  
 Penna. Lottery Schemes, 295.  
 "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," 53.  
 Pennypacker, Peter, 53.  
 Pennypacker, Hon. Samuel W., 53.  
 Pennypacker, Susanna, 55.  
 Pennypacker, Wilhelm, 55.  
 Penrose, Benjamin, 140.  
 Perkiomen Bridge Lottery, 285.  
 Perkiomen Creek, Pa., 108.  
 Perkiomen Region, Pa., 325.  
 Perkins, Eli, 239.  
 Perry Family, 167.  
 Perry, Wm. E., 380.  
 Pershing, Edgar J., 183.  
 Peter's Mountain, Pa., 330.  
 Phillips, Edward B., 214.  
 Phillips, Elizabeth B., 217.  
 Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg,  
 67, 384.  
 Pickering, Col. Timothy, 95.  
 Pike, General Zebulon, 149.  
 Pisa, Italy, 305.  
 Pitcher, "Capt. Molly," 113.  
 Pittsburgh, Pa., 308.  
 Pittville, Philadelphia, 218.  
 Pizzalour, Giovanni, 340.  
 Pleasantville, 222.  
 Pluckamin, N. J., 100.  
 Plymouth Meeting, Pa., 93, 388.  
 Podell, Dr. Harry C., 208.

# Original Articles

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

- Poetry of the Revolution, 54.  
 Point-No-Point Road, 33.  
 Poley, Warren H., 77.  
 Polk, W. R., 374.  
 Pollock, Mary, 359.  
 Pomeroy, Mr., 352.  
 Poor, Gen., 25.  
 Pope, Alexander, 383.  
 Poquessing Creek, Pa., 28.  
 Port Kennedy, Pa., 82.  
 Porter, General Andrew, 367.  
 Porter, Bathseba E., 350.  
 Porter, Charles, 350.  
 Porter, Gov. David R., 370.  
 Porter, Elizabeth, 350.  
 Porter, John, 140, 350.  
 Porter, Lillias Christy, 350.  
 Porter, Mary S., 345.  
 Porter, Robert, 350.  
 Porter, Stephen, 350.  
 Porter, Stephen, Jr., 350.  
 Porter, S. M., 126.  
 Potter Family, 167.  
 Potter House, 229.  
 Potter, General James, 31, 92, 229.  
 Potter, Judge, 158.  
 Potts Family, 232.  
 Potts, Stephen, 141.  
 Potts, W. W., 378.  
 Pottsgrove, Pa., 54, 105.  
 Pottstown, Pa., 301.  
 Potomac River, Va., 330.  
 Post No. 11, G. A. R., Norristown, Pa., 75.  
 Poulson, 329.  
 Powell, A. S., 374.  
 Powers, Fred Perry, 22.  
 Price, B. F., 374.  
 Princeton Theological Seminary, 356.  
 Printz, Samuel, 45.  
 Priser, Enos, 242.  
 Proclamation of Neutrality, 87.  
 Proctor's Penna. Artillery, 303.  
 Prospect Hill, 251.  
 Protest Against Slavery, 78.  
 Pursh, Frederick, 169.  
 Putnam, Gen. Israel, 23, 93.
- Q
- Queen Ann, 217.  
 Queen's Rangers, 28, 112.
- R
- Race Rocks, N. Y., 307.  
 Radi, 305.  
 Raffinesque, Charles Linnaeus, 340.  
 Raffinesque, C. S., 300.  
 Raffinesque, Emily, 340.  
 Raffinesque, Georgette L., 340.  
 Raffinesque, Jules, 341.  
 Raffinesque Memorial, 339.  
 Raffinesque's Will, 339.  
 Ralston, Agnes, 361.  
 Ralston, John, 355.  
 Ralston, John K., 361.  
 Ralston, Nancy H., 355.  
 Ralston, Samuel, 355.  
 Ralstonite, 360.  
 Ramey, Charles, 374.  
 Rand, Dr. Charles F., 56.  
 Rand's Pension, 62.  
 Raritan Canal, N. J., 331.  
 Read, Joseph, 14.  
 Read, Dr. Louis W., 361, 373, 377.  
 Reading, Pa., 244.  
 Reber, H. L., 394.  
 Red Bank, N. J., 24, 110.  
 Reed, Col. Joseph, 99.  
 Reed, Dr. W. H., 121, 249.  
 Regar, H. Severn, 196, 209.  
 Regar's Museum, 196.  
 Reiff Family, 232.  
 Reiff, Jacob, 152.  
 Reiff, John, 152.  
 Reliance Transport Line, 293.  
 Reemy, Laurence, 140.  
 Reeves, Miller, 339.  
 Rennach, Laurence, 140.  
 Revere, Paul, 14.  
 Reyburn, Hon. John E., 222.  
 Reynolds, John A., 394.  
 Rhoades, Erastus, 395.  
 Rhoades, Mayor S., 294-5.  
 Rhile, Henry, 44.  
 Richards, 167, 377.  
 Richards, Eliza, 162.  
 Richards, Hon. John, 286.  
 Richards, Peter, 257.  
 Richards, Sarah, 162.  
 Richards, William, 134.  
 Richardson, Ann, 345.  
 Richert, Henry, 40.  
 Riey, W. G., 373.  
 Rigby, George H., 195.  
 Righter, John, 139.  
 Rile, Henry, 44.  
 Rising Sun, 111.  
 Ritchie, T., 133.  
 Rittenhouse, David, 76.  
 Rittenhouse, Frank R., 79.  
 Rittenhouse, Sophia, 346.  
 Rittenhouse, William, 78.  
 Rittenhouse, Wright, 130.  
 Rittenhouse, The Paper Maker, 78.  
 Ritter, Capt. George, 46.  
 Rivington's "Royal Gazette," 27.  
 Robarts, J. O. K., 243.  
 Roberts, Algernon P., 174.  
 Roberts, Edward, 142.



Roberts, Eliphat. 368.  
 Roberts, Miss Fanny. 176.  
 Roberts, George W., 212.  
 Roberts, Isaac, 122, 132.  
 Roberts, Hon. Jonathan, 291.  
 Roberts, Major, 150.  
 Roberts, William, 126.  
 Roberts, Wm. H., 380.  
 Robinson, Mr., 352.  
 Rodney, Caesar, 14.  
 "Roebuck," The Ship, 27.  
 Rogers, David, 122.  
 Rohrbach, Nathan, 394.  
 Ronaldson's Cemetery, Phila., 337, 342.  
 Ronaldson, James, 342.  
 Root, George F., 391.  
 Rosedale Nurseries, 169.  
 Rose Hill Cemetery, Ambler, Pa., 234.  
 Rosenburger Family, 240.  
 Ross, Col., 117.  
 Ross, George, 17.  
 Ross, Howard D., 137.  
 Rossiter, Samuel, 374.  
 Rothermel, P. F., the Artist, 84.  
 Ruch, Edwin A., 377.  
 Ruff, Daniel, 152.  
 Rural Schools, 204.  
 Rush, Benjamin, 17, 302.  
 Rutledge, Edward, 18.  
 Rynick, Miss Ida, 211.

S

Salfordville, Pa., 392.  
 Sanatoga, Pa., 70.  
 Sandy Hill School, 387.  
 Sandy Run Valley, 110, 227.  
 Sandy Springs, Adams Co., O., 69.  
 Sanitary Agent of Iowa, 69.  
 Sankey, Ira D., 391.  
 Saunders, Wm., 177.  
 Saur, Christopher, 77.  
 Savage Station, Va., 59.  
 Savi, Prof., 305.  
 Say, Dr. Benjamin, 321.  
 Say, Thomas, 169, 321, 324.  
 Schall, Gen. John W., 377.  
 Scheetz, Samuel, 267.  
 Schimelpfennig's Battery, 65.  
 Schmidt, Dr. Johann Fred, 45.  
 Schock, Wm., 395.  
 Schoepf, Dr., a Hessian Surgeon, 36.  
 School of Horticulture, Women's, 233.  
 Schooley's Mountain, N. J., 328.  
 Schmaltz, Madame, 301.  
 Schmoyer, Francis, 395.

Schmoyer, Franklin, 395.  
 Schneider, Mr., 362.  
 Schrack, C. Norris, 255.  
 Schrack, David, 259.  
 Schrack, Dr. John, 259.  
 Schuyler, General, 116.  
 Schuylkill Valley, 325, 329.  
 Sciota River, Ohio, 132.  
 Scotch-Irish Pioneers, 350.  
 Scott, James G., 175.  
 Scott, Julian, 201.  
 Scott, Robert Robinson, 169.  
 Sebring, Sarah, 362.  
 Selden, R. C., 371.  
 Sellersville, Pa., 395.  
 Shaddenger, Harvey, 395.  
 Shaker Settlement in New York, 329.  
 Shannon Family of Evansburg, Pa., 343.  
 Shantz, Mr., 155.  
 Sharpsburg, Md., 330.  
 Shaw, Anna, 22.  
 Shaw, Charles, 269, 378, 380.  
 Shaw, Emma, 268.  
 Shaw Family, 232.  
 Shaw, James, 269.  
 Shaw, Mrs. Mary A., 274.  
 Sheaff Family, 120.  
 Shearer, Ephraim, 154.  
 Shearer, Henry, 45.  
 Shearer, John, 41.  
 Shee, Col. John, 39.  
 Shelby, Gov. of Ky., 319.  
 Shenandoah River, Va., 330.  
 Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., 14.  
 Sherman, 19.  
 Sherman's Valley, Pa., 330.  
 Shimersville, Pa., 331.  
 Shindle, Samuel, 135.  
 Shirey, Sallie, 243.  
 Shoemaker Family, 231.  
 Shoemakerstown, Phila., 111.  
 Short, Dr., 328.  
 Shouse, Lt.-Col. Christian, 40.  
 Shoupe, S. R., 396.  
 Sicilly Islands, 307.  
 Signing Declaration of Ind., 15.  
 Simcoe, Col., 28, 34, 36, 112.  
 Singerly, Wm. M., 205.  
 Singing Schools, 390, 400.  
 Sisson Family, 16.  
 Site and Relic Society, 77.  
 Siter, Wilmer W., 374.  
 Sitgraves, Gen. Samuel, 286.  
 Skippack Creek, Pa., 93, 105.  
 Skippack, Pa., 392.  
 Skippackville, Pa., 396.  
 Skirmish in Lower Merion, 31.  
 Skirmish in Whitemarsh, 115.





- Slemmer, 353.  
 Slingluff, 353.  
 Slotter, Wm. H., 395.  
 Slough, Abraham, 46.  
 Slough, Adam, 46.  
 Slough, Ephraim, 44.  
 Slough, Nicholas, 44, 394, 400.  
 Smalley, John G., 373.  
 Smallwood, General, 105, 183.  
 Smead, Elizabeth, 361.  
 Smith, 377.  
 Smith, Capt. U. S. Navy, 91.  
 Smith, Charles, 122.  
 Smith, Col., 26.  
 Smith Family, 167.  
 Smith, George, 43.  
 Smith, James, 17.  
 Smith, James S., 251.  
 Smith, John Jay, 177.  
 Smith, Lt.-Col. Jonathan B., 44.  
 Smith, Lieut., 107.  
 Smith, Nathan, 370.  
 Smith-O'Brien Rebellion, 171.  
 Smith, Robert, 27.  
 Smith, Rush B., 212.  
 Smith, Simeon, 69.  
 Smith, William G., 373.  
 Smyth, Gen. Alexander, 144.  
 Smyth, S. Gordon, 350.  
 Smythe, Theodore, 395.  
 Smyser, Hon. Daniel M., 72.  
 Snyder, Governor, 150.  
 Snyder, James B., 395.  
 Snyder, Mr., 155.  
 Soap-Stone Quarry, 325.  
 Solamon, John, 43.  
 Soldier Aid Society, 69.  
 Soldiers Orphans Home, 69.  
 "Sons of Liberty," 87.  
 Souder, Gottlieb, 395.  
 Souderton, Pa., 393.  
 South Jersey Cedar Swamps, 330.  
 Sowers, Franklin D., 373-4.  
 Sox, Andrew, 42.  
 Spaeth, Charles, 155.  
 Spang, 377.  
 Spangler, A. M., 172.  
 Spink Family, 167.  
 Springer, 377.  
 Spring House, Pa., 34.  
 Spring Mill, Pa., 325, 330.  
 Sproule Highway, 299.  
 Sproule, Governor William C., 299.  
 Spottswood, Col., 117.  
 Spottsylvania, Va., 384.  
 Sproat, James, 134.  
 "Staatesbote" Newspaper, 15.  
 State Hospital, Norristown, Pa., 72.  
 State Island, N. Y., 328.  
 Stauffer, A. A., 393.  
 Stauffer, Jacob W., 373.  
 Stansbury, Joseph, 6.  
 Stanton, Edward H., 373.  
 Stanton, Secretary, 60, 69.  
 St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 39.  
 St. Clair, Daniel, 345.  
 St. Chantrell, Mother Mary, 212.  
 St. Joseph's Protectors, 369.  
 St. Louis, Mo., 294.  
 St. Michael's School, German-town, 78.  
 St. Mary's Market, New Orleans, 56.  
 Steele, Robert, 221.  
 Steinmetz, Arabella, 346.  
 Steinmetz, George H., 378, 380.  
 Steinrod, D., 133.  
 Stemple, "Jackie," 388.  
 Stephens, Gen. Adam, 104.  
 Sterigere, Peter, 246.  
 Stevens, Bishop, 217.  
 Stevens, Col. John, 298.  
 Stewart, Gen. Thomas J., 212.  
 Stine, John, 350.  
 Stinson, John, 374.  
 Stinsons, 350.  
 Stony Creek, Norristown, 72, 105.  
 Stockton, Richard, 19.  
 Stoddert, Major, 183.  
 Stokes, Mrs. Wm., 362.  
 Stone Family, 167.  
 Stone, J. Wilson, 380.  
 Stoudt, J., 132.  
 Stover, Abram Z., 395.  
 Strafford, Pa., 207.  
 Strassburger, Ralph B., 205.  
 Stritzinger, B. Frank, 212, 378, 380.  
 Strohl Family, 239.  
 Strosnider, Mr., 208.  
 Stuthers, John, 246.  
 Styer, David, 162.  
 Styer, Freas, 378.  
 Styer, Lenord, 141.  
 Sugar Creek, Ind., 130.  
 Sullivan, General, 32, 100.  
 Sullivan, Harry L., 378.  
 Sullivan, William M., 380.  
 Sullivan's Bridge, 38, 380.  
 Summers, Lieut., 150.  
 Summers, William, 148, 347, 351.  
 Summerill, F. M., 212.  
 Sunderland, J. Warren, 206.  
 Summeytown, Pa., 392, 396.  
 Supplee, Enoch, 246.  
 Supplee, John, 353.  
 Supplee, Wesley, 353.  
 Susquehanna Street Road, 228.  
 Surrender of Lee's Army, 74.



Sussex Mountains, N. J., 331.  
 Swain, Mr., 191.  
 Swaine, Gen. Francis, 367.  
 Swainson, Prof., 329.  
 Swarthmore, Pa., 299.  
 Swartz, Mahlon, 395.  
 Swatara Creek, Pa., 124.  
 Swedesburg, Pa., 388.  
 Swedes Ford, Pa., 31, 35, 93, 382.  
 Swift, Hon. Zephaniah, 288.  
 Symmes, Capt. J. Cleves, 322.

## T

Talbot, Marshall, 361.  
 Tarleton, Col., 33.  
 Taylor, George, 17, 44.  
 Taylor, Gen. Zachary, 322.  
 Teaney, John, 255.  
 Teaney, Joseph, 251.  
 Teas Family, 232.  
 Telford, Pa., 392.  
 Temple, J., 132.  
 Tennehill, General, 149.  
 Texas Admitted to the Union, 60.  
 Ticonderoga, 23.  
 Tilley, Paymaster, 183.  
 Todd, Col. Andrew, 369.  
 Todd, Isabel, 369.  
 Toland, Robert, 333.  
 Tomlinson, Wells, 154.  
 Tower, Charlemagne, 118.  
 "Town of Norris," 344.  
 Town, Thomas, 333.  
 Torrey, Dr. Horace, 328.  
 Torrey, Jesse, 333.  
 Torrey, Prof., 323.  
 Turgot, Minister, 11.  
 Turpin Family, 167.  
 Tuscarora Mountains, 134.  
 Thayer, Major, 27.  
 The Army Bridge at Matson's Ford, 38.  
 The "Bucktails," 84.  
 The Gardener's Monthly, 172.  
 The Gulph Hills, 30.  
 The Gulph Road, 31.  
 The "Horticulturist," 177.  
 The Inclined Plane, 126.  
 The "Mirror," 382.  
 The Moravians, 283.  
 The Mormon Bible, 167.  
 The National Cemetery, 220.  
 The National Defender Newspaper, 72.  
 The Normandy Farms, 205.  
 The Octave Club, 210.  
 The Perkiomen Region, 55.  
 The Philadelphia "Florist," 172.  
 The Press League, 210.

The Record Farms, 205.  
 The Reign of Terror, 88.  
 The Round Tops, Gettysburg, 63.  
 The Universal Friend, 158.  
 Thenault, Capt., 91.  
 Thomas, A. K., 238.  
 Thomas, F. Ralph, 374.  
 Thomas Family, 232.  
 Thomas, General, 40.  
 Thomas, Jane, 345.  
 Thomas, Rees, 137.  
 Thomas, Samuel, 374.  
 Thompson, Col.-Adjutant Gen., 57.  
 Thompson, Mrs., 217.  
 Thomson, Charles, Secretary of Congress, 31.  
 Thorley, Miss, 210.  
 Thropp, Hon. Joseph E., 225.  
 Thurlow, Wm., 246.  
 Townships—  
   Bedminster, Bucks Co., Pa., 395.  
   Norriton, Montg. Co., Pa., 400.  
   New Britain, Bucks Co., Pa., 336, 371, 395.  
   Plumsted, Bucks Co., Pa., 395.  
   Tinicum, Delaware Co., Pa., 395.  
   Upper Providence, Montg. Co., Pa., 390.  
   Whitpain, Montg. Co., Pa., 137, 205.  
   Worcester, Montg. Co., Pa., 158, 374.  
 Trainor, Patrick, 186.  
 Transylvania Botanic Garden, Ky., 333.  
 Transylvania University, 317, 320, 333, 339.  
 Trappe, Pa., 305, 390.  
 Trap-Rocks, The, 331.  
 Treaty Elm, The, 36.  
 Treaty with France, 1778, 88.  
 Treemount Seminary, 3, 83, 365, 386, 389.  
 Treemount Seminary Association, 366.  
 Trent, William, 250.  
 Trenton, N. J., 331.  
 Trevalyn, Sir George Otto, 23.  
 Triadelphia, W. Va., 133.  
 Tripp Family, 167.  
 Troy, N. Y., 323.  
 Trucksess, Andrew, 393.  
 Trucksess, David, 292-3.  
 Trucksess Family, 393.  
 Trucksess, Ruth, 393.  
 Tyson, Daniel, 123.  
 Tyson Family, 232.





## U

Umstead, Samuel H., 374.  
 Umstead, William, 79.  
 Union Canal, 294-5.  
 Uniontown, Pa., 48.  
 University of Kentucky, 337.  
 University of Pennsylvania, 307.  
 University of Virginia, 305.

## V

Vaccaro, Josephine, 301, 306, 340.  
 Valentine, D., 133.  
 Valley Forge, 31, 38, 49, 117, 303, 324.  
 Valley Forge Museum, 86, 198.  
 Value of Penna. Currency, 1775, 138.  
 Vanderschott, 305.  
 Van Fossen, Eli, 393.  
 Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Alex, 109.  
 Van Wert, Captor of Andre, 149.  
 Varnum, General, 27, 110.  
 Venables, Hon. Abraham, 287.  
 Verdun, 90.  
 Vernon Park, Germantown, 77.  
 Vollmer, Michael, 84.  
 Volunteer No. 1, in the Union Army, 60.  
 Volunteers, 57th New York, 82.  
 Volunteers 51st Regt. Pa., 1812, 148.  
 Volunteers, 150th Regt. Pa., 84.  
 Voquette, Miss, 352.

## W

Wabash River, Ind., 320.  
 Wagener, Anna, 162.  
 Wagener, David, 158.  
 Wagener Family, 167.  
 Wagener's Lament, 166.  
 Waggoner, John, 44.  
 Wagonseller, John, 128.  
 Wagner, James, 394.  
 Walker, Gen. Geo. W., 56.  
 Walker, Ivins C., 371.  
 Walnut Lane Bridge, 76.  
 Walters, Wm. Francis, 373.  
 Walton Family, 232.  
 Wanger, Ruth, 21.  
 Ward, D. F., 373.  
 Warmkessel, Jacob, 394.  
 Warne, Wm. H., 374.  
 Warrior's Ridge, Pa., 126.  
 Warwick Furnace, Pa., 105.  
 Washington Artillery, 59.  
 50-1, 53, 76-7, 87, 101, 140, 149,  
 Washington Lane, 221.  
 Washington, George, 21, 47, 49,  
 286, 291, 303.

"Waters of Belinda," 330.  
 Watson, John F., 182.  
 Wattson, Henry, 239, 374.  
 Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 21, 93, 30, 292.  
 Weaver Family, 167.  
 Weaver, George M., 380.  
 Weaver, John, 41.  
 Weaver, Dr. J. K., 212.  
 Weaver, Thomas, 395.  
 Weber, Capt., 150.  
 Weber, Christian, 150, 255, 267, 259.  
 Weber, Hannah, 263.  
 Weber, Jeremiah, 246.  
 Weber, John, 41.  
 Weber, Mary, 267.  
 Weber, William, 263.  
 Weber, William H., 263.  
 Weidener, J. E. Estate, 222.  
 Weiers, Abraham, 246.  
 Weikel, Aaron, 393.  
 Weiler, Francis A. van de, 362.  
 Weiss, Chester, 205.  
 "Welcome." The Ship, 8.  
 Wells, 377.  
 Wells, Edmund, 63.  
 Wells, Louis, 353.  
 Wells, W. E., 374.  
 Weltner, Lt.-Col., 43.  
 Wentz, Capt., 150.  
 Wentz, Eliza H., 152.  
 Wentz, Isabella B., 153.  
 Wentz, Joel, 154.  
 Wentz, John, 141.  
 Wentz, Hon. John A., 212.  
 Wentz, Mathias, 150.  
 Wentz, Samuel, 152.  
 Wentz, Silas, 152.  
 Wentz, Thomas, 152.  
 Werner, Wm. H., 199.  
 West Conshohocken, Pa., 325.  
 West Point Military Academy, 323.  
 West Point, N. Y., 28, 95.  
 West Norriton, Pa., 203.  
 Western Review, newspaper, 319.  
 Wheeling, W. Va., 133.  
 White Family, 231.  
 Whitmarsh, Pa., 25, 93, 223, 229, 382.  
 White Plains, N. Y., 94.  
 White Water River, Ind., 123, 130.  
 Whitfield, George, 158.  
 Whitpain, Richard, 137.  
 Whipple, Eliza A., 156.  
 Whipple Family, 167.  
 Whipple, Gen. William, 362.  
 Whiskey Lane, 388.



- Widroder, John, 268.  
 Wigfall, Sarah, 359.  
 Wilderness, Va., 384.  
 Willard Family, 167.  
 Willetts, Dr. I. Pearson, 77.  
 Williams, A. Louisa, 362.  
 Williams, C. F., 197.  
 Williams, Major C., 293.  
 Williams, Henry 373.  
 Williams, John, 148.  
 Williams, Joseph, 121.  
 Williamstadt Manor, 9, 24.  
 Willing, 13.  
 Willoughby's Run, 63.  
 Willow Grove, Pa., 329.  
 Wills, Mrs. Morgan, 84.  
 Wilkinson Family, 167.  
 Wilkinson, Jemima, 156.  
 Wilkinson, Jeremiah, 156.  
 Wilkinson, Lawrence, 156.  
 Wilson, Alexander, 169, 305.  
 Wilson, Mrs. Annie, 212.  
 Wilson, Hon. J. Burd, 357, 370.  
 Wilson, James, 13, 16.  
 Wilson, Pres. Woodrow, 90.  
 Wilson's School House, 169.  
 Winters, J., 132.  
 Wisler, J., 135.  
 Wismer, C. A., 393.  
 Wismer, Eli Fry, 390.  
 Wissahickon Creek, Pa., 93, 175.  
 Wistar, Alexander J., 184.  
 Wistar, Alexander, Jr., 77.  
 Wistar, Charles J., 182.  
 Wistar, Daniel, 182.  
 Wister, "Sally," 93, 182.  
 Witherspoon, Major James, 79.  
 Wittenmyer, Mrs. Annie, 69.  
 Wittenmyer, Elizabeth C., 69.  
 Wittenmyer, John C., 69.  
 Wittenmyer, William, 69.  
 Wolf, Governor of Penna., 330.  
 Wolfe, Joseph, 394.  
 Women's Relief Corps, 70.  
 Women's Temperance Union, 70.  
 Woodburn Heights, 228.  
 Woodbury, I. B., 391.  
 Woodman, Sarah, 185.  
 Woodruff, W. W., 394.  
 Woods, Isaac, 221.  
 Woodward, Robert, 373.  
 Worth, Adelaide Ann, 362.  
 Wright, Abisha, 246.  
 Wright Family, 232.  
 Wright, Frances, 22, 321.  
 Wright, Franklin A., 379.  
 Wright, Randolph, 379.  
 Wythe, 19.  
 Wythe, Capt. Robert, 27.  
 Wyncote, Pa., 222.
- Y
- Yeakle, D. Dawson, 212.  
 Yeakle, Samuel, 380.  
 Yerkes, 232, 390.  
 Yerkes, Sarah, 346.  
 Yerkes, William, 346.  
 Yocum, John, 394.  
 Yoder, Joseph, 395.  
 Yost, Isaac, 145.  
 Yost, J. Irvin, 144.  
 Yorktown, Va., 48.  
 Youghioghany River, Penna., 134.  
 Young Irish Party, 171.  
 Young, William, 169.
- Z
- Zartman, Samuel, 135.  
 Zearfoss, Frederick, 40.  
 Zearfoss, Jacob, 46.  
 Zieber, John, 44.  
 Zeiglersville, Pa., 392.  
 Zeigenfuss, Oliver, 394.  
 Zimmerman, Col., 54.  
 Zimmerman, H. H., 371.  
 Zimmerman, Prof., 394.  
 Zimmerman, W. Irvin, 380.  
 Zoeller, John, 394.  
 Zook, Gen. Samuel K., 82.

3866











